

Sociology and Social . . . Research . . . AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

July-August 1958



AREAS FOR SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

A main aim in publishing this collection of papers on areas for sociological research is to indicate some of the timely opportunities for research to graduate students in sociology. Perhaps candidates for doctoral degrees will find significant proposals for dissertations in the following pages.

A second important aim is to try to map out some of the chief directions in which sociology as a social science is moving at the present time. Some of these directions will be pointed up in an article to appear in the September-October issue of this Journal.

Not all areas for sociological issues are specifically included in the following fifteen papers, but some of the papers reach out into areas not directly mentioned in the various titles. The total exhibit, as it stands, covers a wide range of problems for research with only a small amount of overlapping of research propositions.

The arrangement of the fifteen papers follows the alphabetical order of the names of the authors. A minimum amount of editing of the papers has been done in order to bring a degree of uniformity in the presentation of the areas for research. A few papers which extended beyond the allotted space have been shortened somewhat, but special care has been taken not to disturb the analyses of research areas.

Special thanks are due each of the sociologists who have contributed willingly, ably, and significantly to this Special Issue of the Journal.

AREAS FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

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In the long run, whatever the area of sociological analysis, conceptual clarification and empirical research are both necessary for scientific progress. When these are effectively combined in the same research work, of course, such progress is most likely to occur. However, in the short run, often the one or the other alone can make its contribution to the improvement of sociological analysis. Thus, empirical research can force conceptual redefinition; and, conversely, conceptual clarification can specify needed types of empirical research. In my *Social Stratification*¹ I have sought to indicate the importance of these long- and short-run considerations alike. In this very brief paper I shall select and discuss only a few of those that I have singled out in *Social Stratification*.

(1) *Research on the nature of differential functional significance of relatively full-time roles in society.* In my book I have defined social stratification as the resultant of the differential evaluation of the relatively full-time, functionally significant roles which most individuals in any society occupy. A whole series of studies, going back at least to the Counts' occupational rating study of the 1920's, shows that there is indeed differential evaluation or differential assignment of prestige to these functionally significant roles and that there is considerable consensus in the matter of this differential evaluation.²

In most of these studies, unfortunately, the raters are asked to evaluate established job titles, many of which are inclusive of a broad range of differential functional significance. For example, "lawyers" and "teachers" include a fairly broad range of functional significance for society, perhaps especially the former, as is evident in the broad range of income and prestige that is in fact given to the different functionally significant law tasks or roles that individual lawyers perform. An important step toward further specification of differential functional significance was made in the N.O.R.C. study, where such broad occupational titles as

¹ New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1957.

² In order to save space, I omit the relevant evidence and citations for this and many other of the subsequent statements in this brief article. Such evidence and citations can easily be found in my book.

"businessman" were broken down into more specific functional designations, such as "member of the board of directors of a large corporation," "owner of a factory that employs about 100 people," and "owner-operator of a printing shop." The results showed that a national sample of the American population does recognize differences of functional significance in roles and does evaluate them differently.

But no American occupational rating study using a national sample has been made since the N.O.R.C. study, that is, during at least the last ten years, and none of the local community studies have sought to press further with the problem of increased specification of functional significance. One research carried out a few years ago in Denmark indicates, however, that local studies can make contributions in this area.³ This study gave three pieces of information to its respondent-raters: the title of each occupational role, the level of formal education the role required, and the number of people controlled by the role. This procedure could certainly be used in local and, hopefully, national studies in the United States. Indeed, perhaps it could be improved on, for instance by indicating the quality of the education, as well as amount, and by indicating the job titles, or education, or income of those controlled by the role being evaluated. This would be a way of getting at the indirect control which is one important kind of functional significance of roles in society.

Empirical research of this kind would have a double value. For one thing, it would provide a better picture of the actual stratification system in the United States or any other country. For another, it would provide the kind of empirical data needed to improve our understanding of what we mean by the fundamental notion of "functional significance for society." Does functional significance in this context indicate degree of interchangeability of roles, or the amount of direct and indirect control over other roles, or the differential fulfillment of values? Which of these three and other possible dimensions of functional significance are we discovering in the responses given in occupational rating studies? In sum, what do we mean, quite specifically, by differential functional significance? If we can come to know what we mean by this concept, what its different dimensions are, we can begin to construct measures for those different dimensions and for some single inclusive construct as well. Then we should be able to achieve a new understanding of what is a central theoretical concept not only in social stratification but in other areas of sociological analysis as well.

³ Kaare Svalastoga, "Measurement of Occupational Prestige: Field Techniques," in *Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology* (London: International Sociological Association, 1954).

(2) *Research on the social sources of social mobility.* Sociologists and others have contributed a great deal to the understanding of the social sources of social mobility in the United States, especially to our knowledge about the importance of the differential access to education that arises from differences of income and wealth. The fact is clear that a considerable part of such differential access is the result of economic differences. However, there is a considerable amount of differential access that cannot be explained on economic grounds. Accordingly, in recent research, more attention is being given to other than economic factors. For example, the importance of educational propinquity, of excellent teaching, of parental values and ideologies, of the child's personality needs, and of adolescent peer-group influences on life goals as additional and in some cases determining factors can now be discerned.

But these and other such sociological variables require further investigation. As a survey of existing knowledge about the social and psychological sources of recruitment into the role of scientist has recently shown, there is relatively little reliable knowledge about such recruitment and the social mobility it often involves.⁴ This is true for most occupational roles, at all levels of the social stratification system. Research on the images that children have of various occupational roles, on the knowledge they have of career paths, on their motives and personality needs for academic success and failure—such research would contribute to needed knowledge of important sociological determinants of social stratification stasis or mobility.

(3) *Research on the relations between social stratification and the structure of influence or power.* In addition to its social stratification system, in the sense defined here, every society has a stratified influence (or power) system. As I have tried to show in my *Social Stratification*, sociological analysis of the influence (or power) system is badly in need of both conceptual clarification and empirical research. In addition, of course, the *interrelations* between the system of influence and the social stratification system are not well described by available sociological research. Data about their interrelations at the national society level, in such a country as the United States, for instance, are obviously more difficult to collect; and, so far, the writing on this subject has been seriously vitiated by theoretical errors, lack of empirical evidence, and ideological distortion.

⁴ Donald E. Super and Paul Bachrach, "Review of the Literature on Choice of and Success in Scientific Careers," Working Paper No. 1, Nov. 16, 1956, Scientific Careers Project, Teachers College, Columbia University.

At the local community level, however, there has recently appeared a series of studies that have tested different theoretical conceptions of influence and stratification, that have been accumulating more representative empirical data, and that are less ideological in bias, or at least more susceptible to testing for ideological bias through confrontation with other local community studies. These several local community studies have shown, in general, that there is no single relation between the structure of influence and the social stratification system. More specifically, they have shown that the men at the top of the local class structure are not always the most influential men in the community and that diverse social factors such as length of residence in the community, participation in voluntary associations, office-holding in trade unions, control over the mass media, and ethnic or religious affiliation can be as important in determining the local influence structure as social class position, or even more important under specifiable conditions.⁵

Further research on this problem of the interrelations between local influence structures and local stratificational structures could be quite fruitful, especially at the present time when there is sufficient accumulated knowledge so that quite specific hypotheses can be tested. One of the virtues of a cumulating body of research in any field is the opportunity it provides for further specificity of this kind. At the national level, it would seem nearly impossible at the present time to do satisfactory over-all studies of the interrelations between influence and social stratification. However, much can be done on component pieces of the over-all task. National studies could profit especially from the finding of the local community studies that influence is multiform and is not limited to the obviously important and top-ranking political and economic decision-making roles. Men of ideas, professionals, communications specialists, and nonpolitical leaders of religious groups and social movements, for example, have to be studied also as men of influence, and their influence and stratificational position are not necessarily in any one-to-one relation.

These, then, are a few of the many important areas in which research in social stratification is needed. Perhaps a few general remarks about the character of this needed research would be helpful. First of all, too much of social stratification research suffers from merely attempting to correlate some crudely defined set of social class categories with some one other social variable, without going further. What is needed is more of

⁵ Two recent summaries and critiques of this research are: Peter Rossi, "Community Decision-Making," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, I: 415-43; and Robert O. Schulze and Leonard U. Blumberg, "The Determination of Local Power Elites," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXIII: 290-96.

Multivariate analysis, that is, research in which some precisely defined social class categories are related, not just to one other social variable—for example, voting behavior—but to two or more variables—for example, voting behavior, income, religious affiliation, and ethnic affiliation.⁶ Too often research in this area has attempted to make the social class variable explain too much, and it has ended by explaining much too little of the existing empirical variance. Multivariate analysis and research would help to correct this shortcoming. Second, social stratification research should, wherever possible, and like all other sociological research, be comparative. Since such comparison is one of the functional alternatives to contrived social experiment, it makes possible the isolation of variables and the testing of specific hypotheses. Comparison may involve different situations in the same society at the same time, or different historical situations in the same society, or entirely different societies. By the use of comparative data of these several kinds, we can develop a theory of social stratification that is applicable to any society whatsoever and that is, therefore, more useful for the analysis of any particular society. Such theories are what sociology is seeking through the endless processes of conceptual clarification and empirical research.

⁶ Multivariate analysis of the kind recommended can be examined in Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, *Voting* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954).

RESEARCH AREAS IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF ART

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Research in the sociology of art has been sporadic and unsystematic, even though considerable in volume, and little investigation has been done in the United States until quite recent years. In this country most studies have been carried out in the sociology of literature, though exceptions to this are found in the publications of Mueller, Nash, and Strauss.¹ In Europe a good deal of research has been done in the sociology of art, but most scholarly effort has been focused on works of art, while neglecting other aspects of the field.

Because their work has often imitated that of the art historians, sociologists have generally failed to make the important contributions to this field for which they are uniquely equipped by training and perspective. It is time to formulate a new viewpoint from which research can be undertaken in the sociology of art.

(1) *Art as a process.* It is submitted that the sociologist should view art as a process which consists of the following elements: the artist, the work of art, and the art public. Thus, from the standpoint of the sociologist, art can be considered as a continuous process which involves interaction between the artist and his sociocultural environment and may result in the creation of a work of art—a novel, a musical composition, or a painting—that is in turn received and reacted to by an art public. The work of art makes some kind of impact on the public, and the response of this group will determine the reputation of the art object and its place in the total cultural tradition. Likewise, the reception of a work of art done in a particular manner—as in the case of abstract paintings, for example—will have some influence on the artist and will condition his creative activity in some measure. Thus, the conception of the art process exemplifies the interaction of the individual with his environment and also provides convenient basing points for the study of this complex relation.

¹ John Mueller, *The American Symphony Orchestra: A Social History of Musical Taste* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1951); Dennison J. Nash, *The American Composer*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1954; Anselm Strauss, "Some Aspects of Recruitment into the Visual Arts," a paper read at the Sociology of Art Section, Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society, Washington, D.C., 1957.

Concrete studies of the above aspects of the art process are called for at the present and should be carried out in the several recognized arts such as literature, music, and the visual arts—painting, sculpture, and architecture. In addition, the dance, the serious theater, and “applied” arts such as ceramics and textile design are valid objects of sociological interest and investigation. Also, the sociologist should study the mass media of communication—radio and television drama and the motion picture—in terms of their significance as art forms. The difficulties inherent in discriminating between the instrumental and artistic aspects of the mass media are serious but must be faced. It is clear that these agencies of social communication sometimes interpret and comment on the world of experience in aesthetic terms and do not merely reflect it.

(2) *The artist.* The first element in the art process can be studied by the sociologist in terms of describing and analyzing the social position and relations of the artist, whether he be the creative or the performing type. In music, the dance, and the theater these two types will usually differ, while this distinction will not hold in the visual arts or in literature. Attention should be paid to such factors as the social origins of groups of artists in the several arts; this will require information of their ethnic, economic, and educational backgrounds and should include data on age and sex patterns in these groups.

The recruitment process should be studied in each of the separate arts in the attempt to learn how and by what routes artists are introduced to their chosen fields. Studies of students at established art schools will provide one approach to this problem. Interesting work in this field has been done by Strauss and by Griff in the visual arts; Nash has published a useful paper on “The Socialization of an Artist: The American Composer,” and Chaneles has also done substantial work on this problem.²

Other matters relevant to a sociological portrayal of artists have to do with their styles of life—i.e., place of residence, dress, leisure activities, work habits, social contacts, and their images of themselves. This calls for a study of the artist as an occupational type, and sociologists can draw on the already considerable literature in occupational sociology for research leads and technical assistance. Because the artist in western

² Strauss, *ibid.*; Mason Griff, “Commercial Artists, Their Role Conflicts, and Their Self-Conceptions of Their Role,” paper read at the Sociology of Art Section of the Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society, Washington, D.C., 1957; Sol Chaneles, “Education and Mobility Factors in the Career of the Concert Pianist,” paper read at same section meeting; Dennison J. Nash, “The Socialization of an Artist: The American Composer,” *Social Forces*, 35: 307-13.

societies is a differentiated social type who has special skills and occupies a place in a market economy, there is no reason why his social role cannot be studied as an occupation, even though such an analysis may not grasp the totality of his contribution to the social order.

(3) *The work of art.* Most of the sociological research in the arts has been directed at works of art and, in the United States in particular, investigators have concentrated on literature. It is, of course, comparatively easier for sociologists to work with the materials of literature, which require less specialized and technical training than music or the visual arts. Numerous sociological studies have been made of the content of various kinds of literature, and a few attempts have been made to relate literary phenomena to sociological variables. The work in this field has been well summarized and evaluated by Albrecht.³ Additional studies in this field will need to attain a greater degree of methodological sophistication if the sociologist is to make a contribution that will differ in kind from that of the literary historian or the social critic interested in literature.

(4) *Styles and content of the visual arts.* Sociologists have paid little attention to the visual arts, probably because they have found it difficult to formulate problems in this area that seemed both important and feasible. Variations in *styles* of painting, sculpture, or architecture require a technical knowledge of art history not possessed by most sociologists, and this has presented the considerable difficulty of relating this abstract aspect of the art object to specified social variables. However, studies relating *content* in the visual arts to selected social phenomena should be possible and might open up areas of importance to the sociology of art. Thus, Sewter suggested over twenty years ago that sociologists would find abundant data in the sales catalogs of auction houses and in subscription lists of art galleries for distinguishing variations in subjects of portraiture and in the public demand for these.⁴ This kind of data would make possible sociological studies of changes in the content of certain art forms and of public response to these. It might also be possible to trace variations in style in some of the visual arts if the cooperation of art historians can be secured.

(5) *Performance of musical compositions.* In music, the sociologist will probably find it more profitable to study the *performance* of musical compositions rather than to undertake an analysis of the composition

³ Milton Albrecht, "The Relationship of Literature and Society," *The American Journal of Sociology*, LIX: 425-36.

⁴ A. C. Sewter, "The Possibilities of a Sociology of Art," *Sociological Review*, 27: 441-53.

itself; this latter task calls for musical knowledge possessed only by skilled musicians and musicologists. Only the occasional sociologist, such as Mueller, has the technical knowledge of the vocabulary and idiom of music necessary to an attempt to relate a composition to nonmusic variables. However, studies of what music compositions have been *played* by different organizations on various social occasions are possible for sociologists lacking technical knowledge of music. Mueller's *The American Symphony Orchestra*⁵ will serve as a guide to those interested in formulating research problems in this area.

Some interesting work has been done by American sociologists in the study of jazz, and here again the most successful research has centered on the performance, not the composition, of jazz, since presumably jazz always exhibits an element of spontaneous improvisation and has resisted crystallization in formal systems of musical notation. Studies of the performance of jazz musicians should include analysis of social interaction in these groups, of their sense of being different from the "squares" for whom they play, and of their affinity for particular kinds of jazz. As noted above, sociologists should possess some technical knowledge of jazz in order to study performances with profit, but it is possible for any sociologist to analyze sales of jazz records, to grasp changes in styles of jazz, to learn what social groups espouse innovations in jazz, and to discern the routinization of this innovation in contemporary music.

(6) *The art public.* Sociological studies of the various publics which receive and react to works of art, both historical and modern, can provide important information concerning the ways in which the social environment conditions the process of artistic creation. The "public" reception of a work of art actually reflects the attitudes and preferences of a comparatively small group of persons who seek to act as taste leaders in a society. Because of their social placement and vigorous interest in the arts, the members of art publics often affect both the acceptance of an artistic genre and sometimes even the creative efforts of artists. This appears to be true in all the major arts, including the dance and the theater.

The personnel of the many art publics can be found in the subscription lists of symphony societies, in those who buy at galleries, and in the membership lists of important literary organizations. Further, semi-institutional groups—such as the boards of directors of symphony societies, controlling cliques in galleries and poetry centers, as well as domi-

⁵ Mueller, *op. cit.*

nant figures in the publishing world—intervene between the artist and his potential public. The influence of the groups mentioned is enormous in determining the ability of an artist—creative or performing—to bring his work to the attention of potentially interested publics. The sociologist is well equipped and naturally interested in studying this type of social machinery and can make a unique contribution to our knowledge of how social factors affect art in Western society.

In this brief statement many problems germane to the sociological study of the art process have been ignored and others mentioned only in passing, but the above sketch will suggest a framework for research and some specific topics for investigation. What is needed now is a series of well-executed studies along these lines, to be followed by a period of evaluation and reformulation of goals and objectives. If this is done, the sociology of art can make substantial progress.

AREAS FOR RESEARCH IN FAMILY STUDIES

JESSIE BERNARD

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The February 1957 issue of *Marriage and Family Living* was devoted to the proceedings of a special Family Research Conference held in Chicago late in 1956. This was an interdisciplinary conference; the participants—representing sociology, psychology, psychiatry, child development, and parent education—were selected on the basis of competence in research. The contributions of the sociologists constitute, therefore, an indispensable starting point for any discussion of research in family studies. Indeed, William M. Kephart's paper, "Some Knowns and Unknowns in Family Research: A Sociological Critique," fulfills the specifications laid down by the editor for this particular article, namely, that it "chart briefly three or four areas of research on the family. . .not covered by research, but that need to be undertaken."¹ I have therefore leaned heavily on that paper. The presentation here will be twofold, the first referring to substantive areas for research and the second to methodological areas.

(1) *Substantive Areas of Research.* In the general area of mate selection, Kephart pointed out that expediency factors, with demographic factors, romantic love, and personality interaction have not been given adequate research attention. Expediency as a conceptual tool might be elaborated. It ranges, in Kephart's formulation, all the way from sheer opportunism at one end to conformity to role expectations at the other. At what stage in the mate selection process do young people cease to hope for the "one and only" and decide to settle for what they can get? Not, of course, that they would themselves recognize this formulation, for in our society mate selection is "cloaked in terms of the romantic love complex or personality needs."² The girl of 22 who finds all her friends now married finally accepts the young man she has heretofore rejected, but she puts on as ecstatic an act of romantic love as any of the others. Kephart suggests that expediency factors play a larger part in noncollege populations than among college students. We know that they

¹ *Marriage and Family Living*, February 1957, pp. 7-15.

² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

loom large among remarrying populations. It would be important to know, with respect to stability, how marriages based predominantly on expediency factors compare with those based primarily on romantic love or "complementary needs." It would be interesting to know how marriages based on expediency in the opportunistic or exploitative sense compare with those based on expediency in the role-conformism sense. We could learn a great deal about marriage by close research scrutiny of this expediency factor which Kephart has called to our attention.

Kephart also called attention to the curvilinear aspects of marital adjustment and suggested that enough exploratory work has now been done to demonstrate that marital adjustment does fluctuate or change over a life span. What is the "natural history" of marital adjustment? What are the effects of intrinsic personality development—or lack of it—on marriage? What are the effects of such situational factors as children, in-laws, finances, or health; of extrinsic factors such as depressions, wars, or other catastrophes? Kephart asks if perhaps among complementary personality factors there may be one related to a developmental need? We know from studies of family development that the family is a quite different demographic unit and small-group entity at different stages.³ Perhaps we should think of marital adjustment in different developmental stages as categorically different rather than as merely quantitatively different. Kephart suggests either longitudinal or large cross-sectional studies to illuminate the nature of marital adjustment over time.

(2) *Methodological Areas of Research.* "Weakness in methodology is a major problem in family research," states one student of the subject,⁴ and most of his confreres would agree. He points to a disproportionate reliance on interview and questionnaire techniques, resulting in a stagnant methodology and an unimaginative approach. An exception is Christensen's use of public records. His work is an interesting illustration of what is possible even with the limitations of the nature, incompleteness, and inaccuracy of data available in records.⁵ Technical research is needed to help in minimizing errors of estimates due to losses by migration or bias in records. In this connection it is important to point out also the necessity for better records of all kinds, especially of divorce. We speak glibly of divorce rates in our society without indicating that as a matter of fact statistical data on the nation-wide scale are

³ Evelyn Millis Duvall, *Family Development* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1959).

⁴ Marvin Sussman, "New Approaches in Family Research: A Symposium," *Marriage and Family Living*, 20: 36.

⁵ Harold T. Christensen, "The Method of Record Linkage Applied to Family Data," *Marriage and Family Living*, February 1957, pp. 38-43.

not available. If we had adequate records, we could learn a vast amount about the family from skillful exploitation of the data embodied in them.

Another area of methodological research has been proposed by Robert Blood, who advocates direct observation in the study of the family as a social group. We are handicapped, he says, "by a severe lack of know-how about ways of solving the practical problems involved in family observation."⁶ After experimenting with direct observation, he concluded that "methodological research on family observation is urgently needed," and that "the logical next step involves the development, testing, and assessment of observational categories which will capture the rich meaningfulness of family interaction at the dinner table."⁷

Kephart emphasized the necessity of research designed to improve and refine predictive tests and schedules, and he recommended closer cooperation between marriage counselors and researchers in achieving this goal.⁸ We seem to have arrived at a plateau in research on prediction; there appears to be less interest in it than formerly. Perhaps it is felt that the returns would not be commensurate with the effort involved. Research-wise a new insight seems to be required to reactivate this research area and to stimulate the enormous effort demanded to push it forward.

Sussman has commented on the reluctance of family researchers to consider the applicability to their problems of advances in research methodology in statistics, psychology, social psychology, and related fields.⁹ My own feeling is that too often we have taken over psychological concepts and points of view along with techniques rather than found ways of adapting the techniques to our own problems. Any motivational concept (e.g., "needs," "drives") which attempts to interpret or explain sociological phenomena in terms of individual psychological mechanisms falls outside the sociologist's share in the division of scientific labor. His part of the job is to interpret or explain the individual's behavior in terms of sociological phenomena.

In their recent book on games and decisions, Luce and Raiffa express disappointment that social scientists have not attempted to explore more fully the applicability of game theory to their problems.¹⁰ I share their disappointment. This neglect of a promising theoretical model to guide

⁶ Robert O. Blood, "The Use of Observational Methods in Family Research," *Marriage and Family Living*, 20: 47.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁸ *Loc. cit.*, p. 13.

⁹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁰ R. Duncan Luce and Howard Raiffa, *Games and Decisions: Introduction and Critical Survey* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1957), pp. 10, 11.

empirical research in marriage and family relations is a genuine lacuna. Marriage and family relations lend themselves admirably to the specifications of the game or decision theory model. There is frequently a conflict of interest among family members; many decisions must be made in the face of risk and/or uncertainty; collusion or coalitions or "ganging up" of family members is common; arbitration by parents of children's conflicts is an almost daily chore; where family councils are held, voting may be resorted to in order to maximize a "social welfare function." All of these run-of-mine situations lend themselves to the application of the game theory model.

An exploration of the possibilities of the application of game theory would therefore seem to be a worth-while methodological area of family research. It would certainly stimulate novel lines of empirical research. And even if it proved of limited value, the conceptual tools—strategy, outcome, payoff, value of the game—and the mode of formulating problems gained would constitute an important contribution to research on marriage and family relations. As Williams says: ". . . despite the current limitations of the theory, perhaps its greatest contribution so far has been an intangible one: the general orientation given to people who are faced with overcomplex problems. Even though these problems are not strictly solvable—certainly at the moment and probably for the indefinite future—it helps to have a framework in which to work on them. The concept of a strategy, the distinctions among players, the role of chance events, the notion of matrix representations of the payoffs, the concepts of pure and mixed strategies, and so on give valuable orientation to persons who must think about complicated situations."¹¹

¹¹ J. D. Williams, *The Compleat Strategyst* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1954), pp. 25-28.

PROBLEMS FOR RESEARCH IN TEACHING SOCIOLOGY

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"Knowledge for what?"—the question Lynd asked of social scientists two decades ago—still faces sociologists as well as other social scientists.¹ The sociology teacher like others must continually make decisions about the goals toward which he strives and the means of achieving them. Generally they must be made with little research foundations. We shall identify only a few of the problems on which research seems essential to us. These may be organized around four questions: (1) What functions do undergraduate courses in sociology serve? (2) What background for, interests in, and expectations do students have with regard to these courses? (3) What is the orientation of the undergraduate sociology teacher? and (4) How are these courses related to the dominant values in American society?

We limit our comments to the undergraduate level, not because there are no unresolved problems in graduate sociology education, nor because it is of lesser importance. Rather, it is because the immediate problems in the current wave of educational hysteria involve education at the earlier stages. With increasing emphasis on education in physical science and mathematics, education in the social sciences is likely to suffer. It, therefore, behooves us to consider the undergraduate courses in sociology both as part of a liberal or general education and as the first stages in the development of professional sociologists. Continuation or expansion of either function of undergraduate sociology very likely will depend on the evidence sociologists have to support their claims concerning the purpose and function of their program.

(1) *The functions of undergraduate sociology courses.* Several questions need to be answered with regard to function. Perhaps the first should be—Does undergraduate sociology have the same or different functions in all colleges and universities? The functions may be seen quite differently, for example, in the small liberal arts colleges and land-grant universities. In the latter case, there may be a strong practical emphasis or service function for such courses. The agricultural economist,

¹ Robert Lynd, *Knowledge for What?* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1939).

the engineer, or the business major may expect practical knowledge about how best to deal with his clients from the sociology courses. But do such courses serve the same function for all students in such institutions? Perhaps a portion of these undergraduates see sociology as providing knowledge for its own sake. In the liberal arts college this may be the primary function. This, of course, raises other questions. Is sociology essentially designed as liberal education or is it essentially vocational in its purpose? And can courses oriented to practical ends serve the liberal education function? Such questions need to be answered at least in public institutions. State legislators, already harassed by the growing financial demands for education, are unlikely to be sympathetic to courses of limited enrollment whose functions are not clear to their proponents. The same may be true of the supporters of private institutions.

For some, a primary function may be the recruitment of professional sociologists. If this is accepted as legitimate, what kind of courses performs this function best? Can these same courses provide practical knowledge for the engineer or business administrator and a liberal education for other nonsociologists?

In this period of re-examination of education, we are faced with the need to justify all phases in an expanded earth-bound and spatial world. Many, attempting to counter the demands for more physical science and mathematics, emphasize the importance of the humanities with little or no mention of the social sciences. How does sociological training relate to other social sciences, the humanities, and other aspects of the total undergraduate curriculum? Where does sociology fit in the program of undergraduate education for the coming decades? Is it the core as many of our colleagues would advocate? These questions assume that the functions of sociology courses are dependent to some degree on the functions of other portions of the curriculum. Sociologists can make a major contribution through research on the functions of all aspects of education in the society.

(2) *The undergraduate student in sociology courses.* With the great emphasis on the physical and natural sciences now taking place at the secondary school level,² more and more students may be expected to

² Even the comic strips are taking up the cause for "science"; witness the case of "Captain Easy," who is unabashedly proselytizing. Perhaps sociology should call on "Superman" for help. On the serious side, the Loomis School in Windsor, Connecticut, held a special "Pre-College Science Center," summer of 1957, for outstanding high school students, with apparently great success. The Loomis School is making available a complete study and evaluation of its program, which it intends to expand in the summer of 1958.

enter college already committed to an "academic" area. Since few high schools offer sociology courses, students rarely enter college with any commitment to sociology or related behavioral sciences.

Sociologists have shown little concern about or inclination to investigation of the nature of the interests or academic background of their prospective students. Such knowledge is essential for recruitment of specialists as well as the development of a sound program of undergraduate education.

Some research analyzing the nature of the high school social studies courses with particular reference to their sociological orientation is necessary in either case. Unless we know the students' background and relate the undergraduate sociology program to it, we may find it increasingly difficult to interest undergraduates in our fields of knowledge.

Sociology teachers need to be aware of their students' expectations as well as their background. If a majority of the students coming into sociology courses are there for practical knowledge which they hope will assist in assuming their major occupational role and are not interested in sociology per se, our courses should reflect these expectations. In the early 1950's, the Introductory Sociology course at Michigan State University was a terminal course in the department for almost 95 per cent of those enrolled. Recent studies show that this is now true for only about 50 per cent of the students. Twenty per cent of these introductory sociology students are majors in Divisional Social Science or an allied field which requires from 18 to 24 course hours in sociology. Is this change representative of a national trend toward greater interest in the social sciences? Will the trend continue in the face of demands for physical scientists?

The trend toward divisional majors in social science at Michigan State University causes some concern among the specialists. Do such undergraduate programs provide the best education for high school teachers and others who elect them? Do they provide adequate undergraduate training for students who expect to pursue a specialized graduate degree?

These questions suggest the need for an appraisal of undergraduate programs in the light of the students' adult roles. Do the theory and research necessary for professional sociologists provide meaningful training for undergraduates who are not destined for such roles? Are different undergraduate courses necessary for students preparing for different roles or do the same courses serve equally well for all? What type of courses serves to recruit competent specialists to the field?

It is likely that students' backgrounds, interests, and expectations vary from one institution to another. Essentially identical sociology courses may, therefore, be viewed quite differently from one campus to another. It is necessary for the teacher to know the student image of a given course in his situation. In one case it may be viewed as one for professional sociologists only; in another it may be a service course for teachers, journalists, and/or other occupations; in a third it may be a general social science course undistinguished from other disciplines. Knowledge of the students' images of any course or program is a major consideration in undergraduate education.

Special programs for the "gifted" or superior student is a currently fashionable topic for discussion and research. Although much research has been done on ability sectioning at the elementary and secondary school levels,³ evidence on the effect of special courses or sections on college students is limited. Research on the social as well as academic effects of such segregation in sociology as well as other courses should be a fruitful area of research for sociologists.

(3) *Teacher orientation to undergraduate courses.* No analysis of the students' images of a course or its impact on them would be complete without an examination of the teacher's role. Although sociologists have investigated many other occupational roles including college professors in general, the writers know of no analysis of sociologists as teachers. Among the many questions we might raise about sociology teachers are: What is their orientation or attitude toward undergraduate courses? Do sociologists view them as anything more than necessary daily annoyances which interfere with their research program? How are the students' interests and expectations related to the attitude and expectations of the teachers? What definitions of the situation do teachers make with regard to the expected learning of the students?

The effect of the teacher's role behavior on students' learning should be examined by sociologists in their own classes as well as others. Much of our classroom operation assumes that the student's learning is determined by his presumed organic ability. Perhaps the extent of his learning is more affected by the expectation or demands which the teacher communicates to students. Knowledge of the validity of this hypothesis and of teachers' classroom behavior would provide another basis for understanding the achievement of undergraduates as well as other students.

³ J. Wayne Wrightstone, *Class Organization for Instruction* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1957).

(4) *Sociology and the American value system.* In his study of *Changing Values in College*,⁴ Jacob concluded that social science courses had little effect on the value patterns of college students. This conclusion seems to embrace sociology as well. This and similar studies have led to a renewed examination of the function of education in changing the basic norms or values of a people. While sociologists generally recognize the tenacity with which people hold to certain values, they have at the same time hoped it would not be assumed that their teaching would not effect some changes. We could well investigate to what extent and under what conditions our sociology teaching does modify the values of the students.

In addition to value changes, the behavioral scientists face questions that are peculiar to them. We may wish to keep our teaching value free, but few would maintain that this is possible. We, therefore, face the question: What values should sociology as a science propound in undergraduate courses? Certainly, objectivity and critical thinking are among them. Beyond this, agreement might be difficult. But, more than this, sociology, perhaps as no other academic discipline, is directly and of necessity concerned with the description and analysis of the major value patterns in terms of which human groups function. How is this fact being met in the classroom? Weber⁵ pointed out the difficulty for the social scientists, but insisted that the sociology teacher refrain from mixing his value judgments with his objective analysis. Nevertheless, Weber realized that in many areas objective analysis itself would be most difficult because no teacher analyzes a value system with pristine eyes. At the same time, for many of the students, these value systems may be "sacred," beyond critical scrutiny. This suggests the need for the teacher to identify and objectify his own values, to know the values of his students, and to specify his objectives with regard to intended changes in values.

Other researchable questions which come to mind may be stated as follows: What values do sociologists hold as important? To what extent do undergraduate teachers expect students to accept their own values? What values held by students do teachers try to reinforce? What is the reaction of students to teachers and to courses in which values are analyzed? The reader will, no doubt, have other questions concerning the teaching of values or about values which warrant examination.

⁴ P. Jacob, *Changing Values in College* (New Haven: The Hazen Foundation, 1956).

⁵ Max Weber, *Methodology of the Social Sciences* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949); *Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946).

AREAS FOR RESEARCH IN DEVIANT BEHAVIOR

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As a sociological concept deviant behavior refers to those situations where deviations from norms are in a disapproved direction and of a sufficient degree to exceed the tolerance limit of the society. Not all deviations from social norms are strongly disapproved. Some may be approved, others tolerated, and still others may be only mildly disapproved. Deviations vary not only in the direction of approval and disapproval, but in the intensity of the reaction to the deviations.

Behavior which is deviant is always human behavior; the same general concepts and processes may be applied in the study of deviant behavior as may be applied to nondeviant behavior. Consequently, the research areas presented here represent, in general, the utilization of certain important sociological and social-psychological concepts in the study of deviant behavior. The four research areas suggested here are: (1) the relation of class structure to deviant behavior, (2) the analysis of extra-family roles and situations, (3) the wider use of the self-concept, and (4) cross-cultural research, particularly the study of the nature of deviant behavior of American and other Western societies in non-European societies.

(1) *Class structure and deviant behavior.* Studies of class structure have shown that value orientations and behavior serve not only to represent but actually to integrate class ways of life. So different are the social norms and other behavior of social classes in America, for example, that the differences in the behavior of the various social classes may be nearly as great as that between the members of that society and some other society. Sex practices, for example, have been shown to vary enormously between American social classes. Many psychiatrists and others with a similar orientation often do not recognize this. Consequently, seeing the world through a middle-class perspective, they regard the behavior of a deviant as a unique product of a family situation, whereas it more properly reflects the behavior of families of a certain social class or occupation. A beginning has been made in studies of the relation of class structure to deviant behavior, but much more research must be done in this area.

The pronounced ecological differences which have been revealed in studies of distribution of deviant behavior within a city have been considered by many to represent "social disorganization." Further research may reveal that these differences constitute differences based on the social class norms of these areas, representing actually conflicting social organizations of class norms rather than social disorganization. In order to explain these differences there must be additional research on class ways of life, both in the family and in peer groups such as teen-agers. Green and Davis have pointed to the differences in family rearing patterns and the norms of the lower and middle class and their effect on mental health.¹ Additional research is needed, particularly on the possible greater inculcation of norms more favorable to the use of force and violence by members of the lower classes as compared with other classes, a factor which may account for the great differences in the incidence of juvenile gang violence and adult assault and murder.²

(2) *Analysis of extra-family roles and situations.* Whether family predetermination is a valid theory of deviant behavior actually has not been rigorously tested. Sociologists, because of their wider orientation and training, could contribute a great deal to the solution of this crucial theoretical issue if they were to make more studies specifically directed at the relation of extra-family experiences and social interaction in adult life to deviant behavior. This would include additional research on the relation of peer groups, school, neighborhoods, occupations, marriage, and other extra-family areas of social interaction in relation to delinquency and crime as well as mental disorders, alcoholism, drug addiction, discrimination, and other types of deviant behavior.

The wider use of role theory in the studies of adult life may result in a demonstration that early life situations, particularly those in the family, have less importance in the etiology of deviant behavior than is often presumed at the present time. Sutherland's classic study of the *Professional Thief* clearly demonstrated that criminal roles could be developed out of experience in later life.³ The provocative hypotheses advanced by

¹ Arnold W. Green, "The Middle-Class Male Child and Neurosis," *American Sociological Review*, 11:31-41 (February 1946); Kingsley Davis, "Mental Hygiene and the Social Structure," in Arnold Rose, ed., *Mental Health and Mental Disorder* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1955), pp. 578-98.

² See, for example, Henry A. Bullock, "Urban Homicide in Theory and Fact," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, 45: 565-75; Albert H. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955). One study has reported no significant differences in the amount of delinquent behavior by socioeconomic class, namely, F. Ivan Nye, James F. Short, Jr., and Virgil J. Olson, "Socioeconomic Status and Delinquent Behavior," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII: 381-89.

³ Edwin H. Sutherland, *The Professional Thief* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1937).

Norman Cameron and suggested implicitly by Harry Stack Sullivan about the relation of role difficulties to mental disorders need much further investigation.⁴ Research on conflicts between role expectations and role achievements seems particularly profitable, especially as they relate to age and sex roles.⁵ Drunkenness and alcoholism may be regarded as actual role responses to the conception that such persons have of themselves in relation to the expectations of others. Discrimination in the interaction of members of majority and minority groups needs particularly to be seen through role theory.

In this connection research is also needed on situational factors and their relation to the roles of the deviant person. In the case of criminology they might be along the lines of Cressey's study of the importance of nonsharable financial problems in trust violations, of Lemert's closure theory in forgery, or von Hentig's view that the actions of the victim play an important part in much criminal behavior.⁶ Certainly studies of situational difficulties and role conflicts in adult life seem important areas of research in mental disorders. In this connection research on combat neuroses in the armed forces during World War II, for example, is suggestive. This research indicated that one could not generally trace the origin of such mental disorders to early family experiences, but rather their origin must be sought largely in the military experience itself.⁷ More recent studies have indicated how bereavement⁸ and migration⁹

⁴ Norman Cameron, *The Psychology of Behavior Disorders* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947); Leonard S. Cottrell and Nelson N. Foote, *The Contributions of H. S. Sullivan* (New York: Hermitage House, 1952). A considerable part of their theoretical framework can also be found in the earlier works of George H. Mead, William I. Thomas, and Ellsworth Faris.

⁵ See, for example, Talcott Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," *American Sociological Review*, 7: 604-16 (October 1942). Also see Leonard S. Cottrell, "Individual Adjustment to Age and Sex Roles," *American Sociological Review*, 7: 617-20.

⁶ Donald R. Cressey, *Other People's Money* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1953); Edwin M. Lemert, "An Isolation Closure Theory of Naive Check Forgery," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 44: 296-307 (September-October 1953); Hans von Hentig, *The Criminal and His Victim* (New York: Yale University Press, 1948).

⁷ L. H. Bartemeir, L. S. Kubie, K. A. Menninger, J. Romano, and J. C. Whitehorn, "Combat Exhaustion," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases*, 104: 370 (October 1946); William C. Menninger, "Psychiatric Experience in the War, 1941-1946," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 103: 581 (March 1947); S. Kirson Weinberg, "The Combat Neuroses," *American Journal of Sociology*, 51: 465-78.

⁸ Edmund H. Volkart, in collaboration with Stanley T. Michael, "Bereavement and Mental Health," in Alexander H. Leighton, John A. Clausen, and Robert M. Wilson, editors, *Explorations in Social Psychiatry* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1957), pp. 281-307.

⁹ Benjamin Malzberg and Everett S. Lee, *Migration and Mental Disease* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1956).

may affect mental health. Likewise, situations in adult life which lead to and encourage heavy drinking and alcoholism need research. It is significant that situational factors have for many years played a dominant part in the explanation of suicide, although the analysis of suicidal situations needs further study.¹⁰

(3) *Self-conception and deviant behavior.* As a corollary of role theory wider application is needed of the self-concept in deviant behavior research. Self-concepts, as Mead, Cooley, and others have stressed, are social products arising in symbolic interaction. This important concept has been widely used in social psychology; its application to the study of social deviations has been more limited.¹¹

The importance of using the self-concept as a research tool has been shown in the recent work of Reckless and Dinitz, where differences in self-conception have been found to be a crucial differentiating factor between delinquents and nondelinquents.¹² In fact, Glaser would integrate nearly all criminological research under the concept of differential identification which is closely related to the self image.¹³ He has hypothesized that "a person pursues criminal behavior to the extent that he identifies himself with real or imaginary persons from whose perspective his criminal behavior seems acceptable." The ability to reconcile conception of self has been found by Cressey to be crucial in violations of trust.¹⁴

Reactions to and changes in self image appear to offer an extremely fruitful concept for analyzing the neuroses and psychoses. Many of the difficulties that neurotics experience seem to arise from their concern over their actual and preferred self images. A recent work on the treatment of mental disorder has stressed the need for changing the self image.¹⁵

The family and other groups may facilitate this definition of self held by the alcoholic. In many suicides self image appears to play a crucial role, for the individual cannot accept or rationalize his self, in the definition in which it exists for him, so that it becomes acceptable. Obvious-

¹⁰ See, for example, Ruth S. Cavan, *Suicide* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928).

¹¹ Also see Frances E. Merrill, "The Self and the Other: An Emerging Field of Social Problems," *Social Problems*, 4: 200-08.

¹² Walter C. Reckless, Simon Dinitz, and Ellen Murray, "Self Concept as an Insulator Against Delinquency," *American Sociological Review*, 21: 744-46. James F. Short, Jr., is also doing research in this area.

¹³ Daniel Glaser, "Criminality Theories and Behavioral Images," *American Journal of Sociology*, 61:433-45.

¹⁴ Cressey, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ Otto von Mering and Stanley H. King, *Remotivating the Mental Patient* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1957).

ly in all of these areas where additional research is needed more adequate research techniques need to be devised to measure both the nature of and changes in self-conception.

The wider application of frames of reference of class norms, role theory, self-conception, and situational analyses may bring us closer to answering the crucial question which is often so embarrassing to contemporary sociologists, "Why is it that some persons become deviant and others do not?"

(4) *Cross-cultural research.* Finally we come to the need for cross-cultural research. This would include research on Western deviant behavior such as crime, mental disorders, alcoholism, and drug addiction in such societies as the Middle East, India, Burma, Thailand, and West Africa. In particular, this research should study the relation of increasing urbanization and urbanism in these areas to deviant behavior.¹⁶ Actually nearly all of the sociological research on deviant behavior consists of studies of Americans. It is time that sociologists interested in studying deviant behavior sought their research data outside of national boundaries much as their colleagues in many other disciplines have been doing. We have had a few exceptions such as the study of crime and suicide in Ceylon,¹⁷ and Ruth Benedict's conclusion that the fact that alcoholism was not a social problem in Japan was due to the moral unconcern of the Japanese about drunkenness.¹⁸ Out of such studies will probably come the rejection of some propositions upon which there is wide consensus among American behavioral scientists and in their place the substitution of newer and more provocative hypotheses not only for etiology but for more successful treatment programs.

¹⁶ Also see Marshall B. Clinard, "Research Frontiers in Criminology," *The British Journal of Delinquency*, 7:113-14.

¹⁷ Murray A. Straus and Jacqueline H. Straus, "Suicide, Homicide and Social Structure in Ceylon," *American Journal of Sociology*, 58:461-69.

¹⁸ Ruth Benedict, *Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946).

RESEARCH AREAS IN SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

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Research in the field of social disorganization has been concerned principally with the conventional topics of crime, vice, political corruption, family disorganization, suicide, and such standard matters. This is still an appropriate direction of activity because of the convenience of getting data and also because of the importance of, and public interest in, the above questions. These topics can also be justified on the ground of theoretical relevance, for the concentration of such forms of disorganization in the large, expanding, industrial cities connects them all with the general disorder caused by the rapid immigration which threw large populations into a cultural transition, and with the general character of twentieth century urbanism.

The same topics have been studied as "social problems" or conditions widely thought to be undesirable, as "deviation" from conventional norms and in other ways. They are all, however, objectively consequences of disorganization in the strict sense in which organized mechanisms of social control exist to prevent such conditions and are weakened or destroyed in some areas, therefore permitting crime, corruption, family disorganization, and the others to exist. Objections to the concept of social disorganizations on the ground that it implies a value connotation have no more validity than objection to the concept of organization in any science.

It is the purpose of the present discussion, however, to direct attention to some processes of disorganization less frequently recognized, in the hope that greater research efforts may in time be extended in these less familiar directions.

(1) *Economic disorganization.* The heavy work of civilization is done through organization, and the greater the accomplishment, the more intricate, and therefore delicate, organization is required. The territory of the United States would support at the preliterate level of organization only a few millions of people. If all more complex organization were to disappear suddenly, something like 160,000,000 people would quickly die. Since the prospect of such a catastrophe has never been in sight, we seldom think of it. The problem is not pressing in this country.

In other lands, however, the pressure of growing populations upon the productive capacities of the nations makes this relation a critical matter. Organization will have to build rapidly unless millions are to die of starvation. Economic organization is intertwined with other aspects of life, and so the problem of improvement in this respect is a matter of general organization. Basic industries are essential to a complex economy, and these require capital. In many regions the only adequate source of capital is private money from other countries. This cannot be obtained in large quantities without the kind of political stability which assures that fair treatment will be accorded to the investor. This in turn means that threats of nationalization of industries, obstacles to transfer of earnings, and unreasonable taxation constitute a class of limitations on complexity of economic organization in some nations. Ignorance of the consequences means a heavy price must be paid in human lives.

The effects of social disorganization can be observed in relation to other types of credit. Mail orders, charge accounts, small personal loans all contribute to economic efficiency and therefore to standard of living, and in turn depend on a level of integrity in the behavior of the population. A "class war" attitude that permits easy rationalization of theft from business organizations makes certain types of efficient development impossible. On the other hand, a population which can live up to an honor system in such matters as paying for newspapers at an unattended stand is rewarded by the higher standard of living made possible by efficiency of distribution.

(2) *Disorganization of military units.* Organizations for combat require not only patterns of coordinated activities for the principal fighting tasks, but to be fully effective must also carry prepared patterns of reorganization to be used when the main organization is impaired by the action of the opponents—an army gains effectiveness under severe conditions to the extent that its men can improvise structures of reorganization. Beyond that it is a requirement of organization health to have conditions of *esprit de corps*, morale, discipline, and the collective disposition to act through teamwork rather than through panicky individualism or apathetic independence.

These principles are thoroughly known to military officials, from the bitter lessons of failure as well as success. One such unpleasant educational experience occurred in the Korean War, when the large-scale capture of United States soldiers revealed severe deficiencies in their discipline and morale. Of the more than seven thousand U.S. soldiers taken prisoners in that conflict, not one escaped from a prison camp.

A lengthy and careful study by a staff of Army experts revealed that roughly one third of these prisoners were guilty of some sort of collaboration with the enemy. Also attributed to lack of discipline was the high death record—38 per cent of these prisoners died in captivity.

The postwar inquiry attributed the defective conduct of the U.S. soldier in part to poor indoctrination and to the policy of furnishing comforts and conveniences to the men and providing little experience in induration, and beyond that to a kind of softness in the childhood and adolescent life of the modern generation. More research is needed on these matters to determine the cause, but the results were new in American history. For the first time, captured soldiers in large numbers appeared to lose all allegiance to their own country and to their comrades. Many refused to obey orders from their own officers, and even struck officers who tried to enforce orders. The strong took food from the weak, and sick men were ignored, and in some cases were pushed outside the huts to die. In some cases the men withdrew into shells, inactive, not communicating with others, not responding to a challenge to act like soldiers. Severe malnutrition afflicted many because of unwillingness to eat unfamiliar foods. Some sick prisoners on the way to camp lay down by the side of the road, expecting to be picked up by ambulances which were not to come. Some gave up to apathy, neglected themselves completely, refused even to eat, and died.

A marked contrast to this experience is furnished by the disciplined resistance of the 229 Turkish soldiers captured in the same war. Although almost half of them were wounded when captured, not one died in prison. In contrast to the U.S. prisoners, the Turks preserved completely their chain of command and responsibility. They acted as a unit in all matters, sharing food and clothing equally, and caring for their sick.¹

(3) *Severe disorganization in a nation: the case of China.* Imperial China at the beginning of the nineteenth century possessed a unified political organization which functioned well enough for the needs of the people. This has been replaced by a political structure of an entirely different nature, inserted into the Chinese society from a foreign (Russian) source through planned infiltration, subversion, and other familiar communist methods. The fall of the nation to a foreign dominated political system was possible only because of the severe political

¹ The information on the Korean War experiences is from an important and lengthy article in the *New Yorker*, October 26, 1957, by Eugene Kinkead, "The Study of Something New in History," pp. 102-53.

and social disorganization that occurred in the later period of the nineteenth century.²

Recent scholarly studies have analyzed the nature of this disorganization process.³ The stable political structure of old China was based on an educated bureaucratic elite drawn from the ranks of a scholar-gentry group—a class of men who qualified through examinations rather than through heredity or landowning. These men administered the political affairs of the nation and served as bearers of the traditional value-system of Confucianism which gave the society its moral cohesion. Under pressures generated by contacts with the Western world and connected military requirements, the system of recruiting the gentry class underwent a gradual deterioration. An increasing proportion of such appointments came to be granted by the government in return for contributions to military funds, allowing unqualified persons to escape the examinations. These irregulars had less regard than the scholars for traditional principles and were less subject to control. By their behavior they deteriorated their own standing in society. Because of their importance in the national structure, the decay of the gentry constituted severe national disorganization. Into this political and moral vacuum the communist penetration was relatively easy. In Michael's words, "The fall of China to the Communists was the result of the collapse of a civilization and an ensuing chaos in which the attempts at re-establishing order, interrupted by the war, were too weak to stem the Communist tide."⁴

(4) *Further suggested directions of research.* Disaster research has promise of contributing to our understanding of strength of organization as well as disorganization: the bombing of Britain, for example, provided information on immunity to disorganization under hardship. Disorganization of American Indians and of other peoples in transition from preliteracy to urbanism has been studied, but more can be learned. Of less practical importance but capable of yielding valuable theoretical knowledge are studies of prison riots and disorganization of prison administrative structures. The final stages of social movements and sects and other once prosperous organizations may also have much to teach about how structures grow old and die. Finally, a highly instructive example of the penetration of corruption into institutional structures is revealed by current developments in amateur intercollegiate athletics.

² Severe disorganization on a national scale is not a common occurrence in modern times. One might suppose that defeat in a major war would be a principal cause of such a disaster, but the generalization is unsafe, as the present stability and prosperity in present-day Germany and Japan demonstrate.

³ See "The Fall of China," by Franz Michael, *World Politics*, Vol. 8, No. 2, January 1956. Also Chung-Li Chang, *The Chinese Gentry* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1955).

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 306.

AREAS OF RESEARCH IN RACE RELATIONS

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The field of race relations has long been one of the major interests of American sociologists. Their interest in race relations has been changing, however, during the past two decades partly because of the developments which have occurred in race relations in the United States and partly because of changes in the world at large. As a result of economic, political, and social changes in the modern world, American sociologists have been acquiring a new perspective on race relations generally. In view of their changing interest in race relations and their new perspective, it may be of value to suggest some sociological problems that need further study and to point out the areas of the world in which these problems are found. These problems may be conveniently considered under three headings: (1) the problem of race sentiment and race consciousness, (2) the influence of institutions on race relations and racial attitudes, and (3) the role of racial sentiment and race consciousness in personality formation.

Race sentiment and race consciousness. No one can deny the existence of race sentiment and race consciousness in the world today. There is considerable disagreement, however, concerning the nature of race feeling or race sentiment and the conditions under which it comes into existence. Can one say, for example, that race feeling exists in the relations of the Chinese and the peoples of Southeast Asia? Race consciousness which refers to the extent to which race feeling or race sentiment is present in consciousness fluctuates considerably. It has often been stated that whereas race sentiment was present in the Old South during slavery, race consciousness was reduced to a minimum in the social accommodation represented by the slave regime. This clearly indicates that despite the great physical differences between the two races, it was possible for the maximum physical intimacy to exist between whites and blacks along with the maximum social distance. This has considerable significance for the sociologist who is concerned with research in race relations, especially during a period of social change.

What then are some of the questions which need to be answered? There is first the question concerning the nature of race sentiment and

race consciousness. More than a half-century ago W. I. Thomas differentiated what he called the caste feeling on the part of Southerners from what he regarded as essentially the race feeling of the northern whites.¹ No sociologist or social psychologist has undertaken to test this hypothesis. In this connection one might undertake to find out if, in view of the traditional racial situation in the South, it is easier for southern whites and Negroes to associate on terms of equality when caste feeling disappears than it is for northern whites and Negroes. This is important because there is much loose talk about race relations resulting from desegregation and many unsupported generalizations concerning race relations in the North as compared with the South.

A somewhat related sociological problem is the relation of race prejudice and color prejudice. That the two types of prejudice should be differentiated first occurred to the writer during his studies in Brazil nearly two decades ago. In the United States race prejudice is a matter of ancestry and descent, but in Brazil, in Spanish America, and in some parts of the West Indies there is undoubtedly prejudice against black or darker people. This prejudice is not based upon racial descent. The prejudice which, in the opinion of the writer, is mistakenly called race prejudice and confused with race prejudice in the United States is very much like the color prejudice which one finds among Negroes in the United States. There is, however, a kind of prejudice which is found among the nonwhites in the United States which approximates *race* prejudice. It is the type of prejudice which one finds in the so-called "racial islands" or those mixed groups—generally white, Indian, and Negro—toward Negroes, even toward "Negroes" of the same biological ancestry. The people who comprise these "racial islands" consider themselves a different *kind* of people.

Race sentiment and race consciousness as a field of sociological study have become of special importance with the emergence of new nation states following the collapse of colonialism. This is true not only in regard to the new nation states which have come into existence in Asia. It is of special significance in respect to the nationalistic movements in Africa and in the areas where Africans are struggling for a larger share in self-government in black Africa, as the area of Africa south of the Sahara is known. Although the Mau Mau movement in Kenya was an extreme expression of antiwhite feeling, the racial element is present wherever there is a revolt against colonialism. Colonialism has become

¹ See William I. Thomas, "The Psychology of Race Prejudice," *The American Journal of Sociology*, IX: 593-611.

identified in the mind of the African with white domination. Some African politicians have admitted that the racial factor has been deliberately utilized temporarily to mobilize resistance to white rule. This does not alter the fact that racial sentiment and race consciousness play a role in the revolt against colonialism. The problem for the sociologist is to discover not only the role of the racial factor in the struggle against white domination but what role race is playing in the development of new nation states. This is extremely important when one considers the importance of the racial factor even in those areas where the French have had a policy of assimilation.

(2) *Institutions and race relations.* The next area of research in the field of race relations concerns the relation between institutions and race relations and racial attitudes. Usually the sociological problem in this field has been framed in terms of a debate concerning the relative influence of institutions or the priority of institutions or attitudes in determining the character of race relations. Not only does this appear to the writer to be a falsely defined sociological problem, but it is only one phase of the sociological problem with which we are concerned. First, it is important in dealing with the problem of segregation to have a clear conception of the nature of the social reality with which we are dealing. But this cannot be determined *a priori* by debating the issue. When one is dealing with interpersonal relations, racial attitudes are important. But we know that racial attitudes do not function as independent variables but always as a function of a social situation. Therefore, it is always necessary to know the social context in which persons with certain racial attitudes function or behave.

This was evident in the study which was made of segregation in the District of Columbia before desegregation was undertaken. It has been stated half seriously by some of us who undertook this study that we did not study the attitudes of white people concerning desegregation because we knew what they were. The problem which we set for ourselves was to determine what social groups were interested in maintaining segregation, what groups and agencies exercised power in maintaining segregation, and what agencies of communication created and perpetuated certain racial attitudes. The program of desegregation was based upon the answers to these questions. Unfortunately, similar studies have not been carried out in other parts of the country. They would have provided empirical data which could have formed the basis of a theoretical body of knowledge in this area. Even one of the foundations, when approached by a group of distinguished scholars and laymen, refused to support a purely scientific study of the process of desegregation.

An important phase of the relations between institutions and racial attitudes becomes apparent whenever one considers the fact that personal relations tend to undermine the institutional and moral order where race relations are involved. For example, in the southern states the "mixing" of the races seemingly never has referred to a purely biological phenomenon, but to a social phenomenon on the institutional or moral plane. Here is an unexplored area of research for the sociologist. Then there is a related phenomenon in the area of race relations that requires study. In some areas of the world the dogma against the "mixing of the races" did not come into existence until white women appeared on the scene. Have we any sociological explanations for this phenomenon?

When one considers the broad problem of race and culture contacts in the modern world, there is a neglected phase of race relations which deserves serious study. This is the racial division of labor which appears in different parts of the world where races meet. Some attention has been given to the racial division of labor in some localities as, for example, in the West Indies. This is becoming an important area of research as the peoples of the world become increasingly mobile and multi-racial communities are growing up all over the world. The sociological problem is chiefly concerned with areas where the racial division of labor is not due to political factors or any other form of social compulsion.

The problem of the racial division of labor is related to the problem of the relation between racial prejudice and color prejudice. It is also related to the class structure of a society. What is the relation between middle-class status and race relations and racial attitudes? This is a field for investigation not only in the United States but in other parts of the world. For example, one often refers to Brazil as a country in which racial and color prejudices have not been important or at least have not become the basis of social stratification. Nevertheless, there is evidence that as the old feudal aristocracy has disappeared in Brazil and the middle class has become dominant, color snobbishness has become important if race prejudice as we know it has not made its appearance. In the new forms of social and recreational life, a black face seldom appears. Is the middle-class way of life associated with similar snobbishness in regard to the pure-blooded Negro and the pure-blooded Indian (American) in other parts of America?

There are a number of problems of sociological interest in the economic relations of different races. One problem involves competition and is related to the racial division of labor to which we have referred. Like-

wise, there are sociological problems which need study in the area of politics. These problems are important where multiracial communities exist—in the southern states, in South Africa, in the Central African Federation, and in East Africa. These problems are concerned with power and prestige. Despite the denials by some of its leaders, it appears that the new regional bloc known as the Afro-Asian bloc represents to some extent race consciousness on the part of the colored peoples of the world.

(3) *Race and personality.* We come finally to the problem of race and personality which is the special field of the social psychologist. As is well known, many of the leaders of the nationalistic movements in the areas of the world where peoples have secured their independence or are struggling for independence are so-called "marginal men," or cultural hybrids. The study of the western educated man and his role among native or indigenous races or peoples is attracting an increasing amount of attention on the part of social psychologists. Although increasing attention is being given to the study of political leaders, much more needs to be done. Not only is it necessary to study the leaders in order to discover how race feeling has shaped their personalities and determined their roles in the struggles of people for political independence. But studies are also needed at the present time to determine the role of race sentiment and race consciousness in the formation of the new societies in Africa and in the West Indies, as well as in the areas of Central and South America where new societies are struggling to be born.

Some studies have been made of the personality of mixed bloods who are very often "marginal men." But here we are not so much interested in mixed bloods as marginal people but as the forerunners of the "new" races. Above we referred to the "racial islands" or communities of mixed bloods who think of themselves as being a different "kind" of people—different from both Negroes and whites or Indians. Here it seems that we come to grips with the problem of race sentiment and the role of race in the formation of personality. To what extent do people not only as individuals but as collectivities need some form of racial identification? It is especially important today, since on the racial frontiers of the modern world "new" peoples are coming into existence. What role is race sentiment playing in the formation of these "new" peoples?

In this brief article an attempt has been made simply to indicate what appear to be some fundamental sociological problems that are worthy of study in the field of race relations. These problems have emerged both

as the result of the change in race relations in the United States and as the result of the sociologist's new outlook on the race problems which are emerging in the modern world. These problems not only offer a challenge to the sociologist, but they provide an opportunity for the continued development of sociology as a scientific discipline.

AREAS FOR RESEARCH IN SMALL GROUPS

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Although it is difficult to write an article on any phase of small group research without giving credit to some previous relevant work, several of the most obvious and most important areas for research are still quite open for significant contributions.¹ These areas include (1) the relationship between interpersonal behavior of group members, (2) social characteristics of group members, (3) social role, (4) the criteria of interpersonal choice, and (5) the phases in group development.

(1) *Personality*. There are now available many studies in which the principles underlying "dimensions" of personality have been derived from the responses to a battery of psychological tests or from observations of behavior by factor analysis or some similar method.

Most of these studies report that only three or four factors are necessary to account for the observed variance in behavior.² In a review of research in which various aspects of group behavior are related to personality variables, Mann indicates that the most frequently mentioned dimensions are intelligence, adjustment, extroversion, dominance, masculinity, and radicalism.³ Although correlations between behavior and any of these factors are often significant, they are generally quite low. Of all the factors, as they are now conceived, intelligence stands out as the one with the greatest predictive value.

¹ For previous research see: D. Cartwright and A. Zander, editors, *Group Dynamics: Research and Theory* (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, 1953); G. Lindzey, editor, *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1954); F. L. Strodbeck and A. P. Hare, "Bibliography of Small Group Research: From 1900 through 1953," *Sociometry*, 17:107-78; A. P. Hare, E. F. Borgatta, and R. F. Bales, editors, *Small Groups: Studies in Social Interaction* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1955); Josephine Klein, *The Study of Groups* (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1956); M. Argyle, *The Scientific Study of Social Behavior* (London: Methuen and Company, 1957); R. E. Bales, A. P. Hare, and E. F. Borgatta, "Structure and Dynamics of Small Groups: A Review of Four Variables," in J. B. Gittler, editor, *Review of Sociology: Analysis of a Decade* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1957), pp. 391-422; A. P. Hare, *Social Interaction: An Analysis of Behavior in Small Groups* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, forthcoming).

² A. Baldwin, J. Kallhorn, and F. Breese, "Patterns of Parent Behavior," *Psychological Monograph*, Vol. 58, No. 268, 1945; J. M. Sakoda, "Factor Analysis of OSS Situational Tests," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 47:843-52; W. Sewell, P. Mussen, and C. Harris, "Relationships Among Child Training Practices," *American Sociological Review*, 20: 137-48.

³ R. D. Mann, "A Review of the Relationships Between Personality and Performance in Small Groups," mimeographed, 1958.

Since there are almost as many ways of measuring each factor as there are studies reporting them, the degree of similarity in the factors as they are reported is not always easy to determine. In addition, only one or two of the factors tend to be included in any given piece of research. In future research each of these most frequently appearing dimensions should be accounted for either in their present unintegrated form or, better still, incorporated in some general theoretical scheme after the manner of Leary⁴ or Schutz.⁵ Leary's scheme uses two principal dimensions (dominance-submission and love-hate) at five different "levels" of personality. This has the merit of being based on clinical experience and recognizing that all personality tests may not reach the same level of personality. On the other hand, Schutz's scheme posits three dimensions of personality: inclusion, control, and affection. Schutz also stresses the interactional nature of personality within each of the three areas. Each individual is seen as having a tendency to behave in a specific way toward others and as seeking a specific kind of response from others. However, neither scheme uses intelligence as a principal dimension.

The power of a simplified, inclusive, and integrated set of personality dimensions has only begun to be explored. Borgatta, Couch, and Bales' use of three dimensions in their analysis of the "great man" as he plays a leader role provides one example of the direction this research might take.⁶ Since personality dimensions as they are presently conceptualized and measured have relatively low predictive value, a variety of situations can be explored to determine the particular combination of data about personality and role which will account for most of the variance in behavior in a given situation. In a ritualistic ceremony, such as a marriage, the observed behavior of a subject should be very close to the expectations defined as appropriate for him in his role. At the other extreme, in a situation in which a role is not as well defined, such as the role of patient on a mental hospital ward, the observed behavior should be much more directly related to the subject's personality.

(2) *Social characteristics of group members.* More easily measured than personality are social characteristics of group members such as age,

⁴ T. Leary, *Interpersonal Diagnosis of Personality* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1957).

⁵ W. C. Schutz, *Firo: A Three-Variable Theory of Interpersonal Behavior* (New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., in press).

⁶ E. F. Borgatta, A. S. Couch, and R. F. Bales, "Some Findings Relevant to the Great Man Theory of Leadership," *American Sociological Review*, 19:755-59. The three dimensions used in this study were proposed by L. F. Carter in his paper on "Recording and Evaluating the Performance of Individuals as Members of Small Groups," *Personnel Psychology*, 7: 477-84.

sex, social class, ethnic group, and friendship group. These variables are presumed to have such an effect on social interaction that they are usually "held constant" in laboratory group experiments where subjects are typically college age, male, middle class, and unacquainted prior to the experiment. As a result, there are remarkably few studies of the effects of these variables.

Again, as in the case of personality dimensions, these social characteristics of members should be systematically varied in experiments to determine their effect on adult problem-solving groups. Such studies should help provide a bridge between the present findings of the laboratory and the "natural" groups in which these variables are left uncontrolled. The study by Strodtbeck and Mann of mock jury trials is suggestive of the work which might be done.⁷ In this study the subjects are drawn from actual jury pools and so have all the social characteristics of typical jurors. Sex and social class both play a part in the jury deliberations. Men tend to initiate activity, while women react and upper class persons tend to dominate the discussion.

(3) *Social role.* Since the subjects who are brought together in the laboratory are usually placed in "initially leaderless groups," relatively little attention has been paid to the effect of specialized social roles on the interaction patterns of group members. The major exception to this tendency has been the long list of leadership studies following Lippitt's observations of the effects of authoritarian vs. democratic leader styles.⁸ More attention could be given to the analysis of reciprocal role relationships such as those between doctor and patient or teacher and student. A beginning in this direction has been made by Landsberger in his observation of labor mediators as they arbitrate labor-management disputes⁹ and Strupp's analysis of the effects of different types of training and degrees of experience on therapist-patient interaction.¹⁰

As we become specific about patterns of role behavior, we will be able to demonstrate the effects of combining a given personality and a given role. More attention can also be given to the effects of conflicting

⁷ F. L. Strodtbeck and R. D. Mann, "Sex Role Differentiation in Jury Deliberations," *Sociometry*, 19: 3-11.

⁸ R. Lippitt, "An Experimental Study of the Effect of Democratic and Authoritarian Group Atmospheres," *University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare*, 16: 43-195.

⁹ H. A. Landsberger, "Interaction Process Analysis of Professional Behavior: A Study of Labor Mediators in Twelve Labor-Management Disputes," *American Sociological Review*, 20: 566-75.

¹⁰ H. H. Strupp, "An Objective Comparison of Rogerian and Psychoanalytic Techniques," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 20: 1-7; "Psychotherapeutic Technique, Professional Affiliation, and Experience Level," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, 19:97-102.

role expectations on the same person or of conflicting role patterns within the same group. Fortunately, Gross *et al.* have already done a great deal to clarify the issues involved and to demonstrate a method which yields definitive results.¹¹

(4) *Criteria of interpersonal choice.* I hesitate to suggest that anyone do another "sociometric" study, since the literature is by now rather well saturated with reports of research in which a wide variety of subjects of all ages have been asked to choose other persons for a wide variety of reasons. However, the importance of the *criterion* of choice is still not generally recognized.

In addition to identifying differences in group performance which are related to different criteria of interpersonal choice, more studies could be made which clearly differentiate the formal structure represented by an organizational chart from the informal structure, which is based on interpersonal choice. The roles played by persons holding different sociometrically determined statuses in the informal structure also require further delineation.

(5) *Phases in group development.* Most of the research on small groups is performed with collections of individuals who are previously unacquainted, who meet for less than one hour, and who are then disbanded. In only a few instances has attention been given to phase movements within the course of a single meeting or to changes in group process over a series of several meetings.¹² Where phases have been found, their generality should be tested in other settings. For example, Bales and Strodtbeck's observation that laboratory discussion groups progress through three rather distinct phases as they solve a human relations problem was not found to be true of therapy groups.¹³ In a similar way the generality of the "equilibrium problem"¹⁴ should be established. Is it true that in most groups problems of the task are solved only at the expense of social-emotional problems so that the group continually swings back and forth between the two problem areas?

¹¹ N. Gross, W. S. Mason, and A. W. McEachern, *Exploration in Role Analysis: Studies of the School Superintendency Role* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958).

¹² See for example: R. F. Bales and F. L. Strodtbeck, "Phases in Group Problem Solving," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 46: 485-95; G. A. Theodorson, "Elements in the Progressive Development of Small Groups," *Social Forces*, 31: 311-20.

¹³ G. A. Talland, "Task and Interaction Process: Some Characteristics of Therapeutic Group Discussion," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 50: 105-09.

¹⁴ R. F. Bales, "The Equilibrium Problem in Small Groups," in T. Parsons, R. F. Bales, and E. A. Shils, *Working Papers in the Theory of Action* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 111-61.

Bion's formulation of the basic emotional states of groups as fight-flight, pairing, and dependency¹⁵ has been elaborated by Bennis and Shepard into a six-phase sequence of development which they observed in training groups.¹⁶ This scheme also needs to be tried with other types of groups.

An extension of this approach is suggested by the work of Schutz.¹⁷ Groups may be viewed as growing through three stages which are repeated over and over in cycles. In the first stage the group's concern is with the problem of its identity and the amount of attention which should be given and received by each of the members. Next the members turn to the question of power. They determine the extent to which each member will control and be controlled. Finally, in the third phase, the members consider their affectional relationships.

Any one of these schemes would provide a good starting place for the analysis of group development. It would also be desirable to take account of the characteristics of the group members, since their social and physical characteristics would tend to either facilitate or impede the development of the group at each stage. For example, differences in social rank carried over by members from previous groups would make it easier to establish a hierarchy of prestige within the new group, differences in age or physical power would facilitate the development of power hierarchy, and the distribution of the sexes would influence the development of affectional ties.

Summary. Five problem areas are suggested as particularly promising for further research. Numerous factor-analytic studies have reduced the number of personality dimensions to a few which can now be used more systematically in research in which interpersonal behavior is predicted from previously determined personality traits. The social characteristics of members such as age, sex, social class, ethnic group, and friendship group which have formally been "controlled" in laboratory experiments can similarly be examined for their predictive value. Roles other than that of leader should be delineated in more detail and the influence of

¹⁵ W. R. Bion's work appears in a series of articles in *Human Relations* from 1948 through 1951. The articles are called "Experiences in Groups: I-VII." Bion's original formulation has been elaborated by H. A. Thelen in "Emotionality and Work in Groups," in L. D. White (ed.), *The State of the Social Sciences* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956) and *Methods for Studying Work and Emotionality in Group Operation* (Chicago: Human Dynamics Laboratory, University of Chicago, 1954).

¹⁶ W. G. Bennis and H. A. Shepard, "A Theory of Group Development," *Human Relations*, 9: 415-37.

¹⁷ W. C. Schutz, *op. cit.*

conflicting role expectations assessed. The relevance of the criterion of interpersonal choice should be examined to determine those situations in which the initial criterion makes a difference in subsequent behavior. Finally, research on the phases of group development should be advanced from speculation to empirically based description and from description of phases characteristic of given sets of conditions to comparative studies of different sets of conditions.

RESEARCH AREAS IN DEMOGRAPHY

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Demography as a field for research may be viewed either in a narrow or in a broad sense. In the narrow sense, demography may be considered as "demographic analysis"—the analysis of a system of population variable per se. In the broad sense, demography may be conceived as "population studies"—studies which involve the interrelationships of population with other systems of variables—such as social, economic, political, biological, or ecological.¹ Demographic analysis is, in general, undertaken primarily by demographers; however, "population studies" are pursued not only by demographers but also by many other types of scholars whose research interests lead them to consider population in relation to other types of phenomena. In this brief statement of research areas reference will be made to areas of both "demographic analysis" and "population studies."

(1) *Demographic analysis.* In the area of "demographic analysis" challenging and promising areas of research are opening up with the increasing availability and improvement of population data. Bearing in mind the fact that most of the information available on human populations is restricted to Western populations, and that mainly to the modern era and especially to the last century, the increasing coverage of census and vital registration operations to hitherto uncovered areas of the world is providing new and exciting research opportunities. The greatly increased census coverage anticipated under the United Nations World Census Program for 1960 should permit the analysis of population size, composition, and distribution for areas hitherto subject only to estimation or guesses. In time, such increased coverage, together with improvements in vital registration statistics and sampling surveys, will contribute also to improved opportunity for analysis of population change, in terms of components of change—fertility, mortality, and migration.

The research opportunities arising from improvement in world coverage of population data may, at first thought, seem relatively restricted and insignificant to an audience of sociologists. But it may be that the

¹ This distinction is elaborated in a forthcoming volume, Philip M. Hauser and Otis Dudley Duncan, editors, *The Study of Population: An Inventory and Appraisal*, The University of Chicago Press (scheduled for 1958 publication). To conserve space, footnote references are largely restricted to the appropriate parts of this volume which summarize the relevant literature.

availability of data on a world-wide basis may, more than anything else, help to determine the extent to which demographic knowledge has, or can have, generic, as contrasted with time- and space-bound import. The extension of demographic analysis to the entire globe may be a crucial factor, in time, in freeing present demographic generalizations from the limitations of "historicism."²

Other growing areas of demographic analysis are those in which developing conceptual frameworks and analytical methods have pointed to new problems as well as contributing to the production of better data. In this category of research opportunities may be included the following by no means exhaustive list of expanding areas of research: (1) The "cohort analysis" of fertility which was stimulated primarily by the failure of prewar population projections to anticipate the postwar boom in marriage and fertility. It has become recognized that the analysis of the experience of cohorts of women, birth or marriage cohorts, is a "must" in any time analysis of fertility.³ (2) Increased longitudinal analysis of mortality.⁴ (3) The analysis of mortality in relation to the morbidity data which are becoming available.⁵ (4) The development of better methods of estimation of postcensal populations of small areas.⁶ (5) Research on migration streams and on the characteristics of migrants.⁷ (6) Construction of population "projections" tied to explicitly stated assumptions. They may be regarded as a form of model construction which, as populations are shown to vary with differing assumptions, may perform an "explanatory" if not a "predictive" function.⁸ (7) The measurement of "reproduction"—that is, the extent to which a population is replacing itself. The demonstrated limitations of the "stable

² "Part I: Demography as a Science," especially Chaps. 2 and 4, *ibid.*

³ N. B. Ryder, "Fertility," Chap. 18, *ibid.*; P. K. Whelpton, *Cohort Fertility* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954).

⁴ Harold F. Dorn, "Mortality," Chap. 19, *ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*; also United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, "The National Health Survey Act," *Public Health Reports*, 72: 1-8.

⁶ Henry S. Shryock, Jr., "Development of Postcensal Population Estimates for Local Areas," in *Regional Income, Studies in Income and Wealth*, Vol. XXI, a report of the National Bureau of Economic Research (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957); United States Bureau of the Census, "Estimates of the Population of the New Orleans Standard Metropolitan Area: July 1, 1956," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 156, April 1957; Donald J. Bogue and Beverly Duncan, "A Composite Method for Estimating Postcensal Population of Small Areas, by Age, Sex, and Color," *Vital Statistics—Special Reports* (forthcoming); Bogue, "A Technique for Making Extensive Population Estimates," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 45: 149-63.

⁷ Bogue, "Internal Migration," Chap. 21, in Hauser and Duncan, *op. cit.*

⁸ John V. Grauman, "Population Estimates and Projections," Chap. 23, *ibid.*

population" model is leading to various efforts to evaluate, if not to control, the indeterminate character of the interactions of past demographic history, population structure, current fertility, mortality, and nuptiality.⁹ (8) Construction of various mathematical models, deterministic or stochastic, in efforts to extend demographic analysis and to improve the predictability and explanatory power of demographic knowledge.¹⁰ (9) The analysis of labor force data by means of demographic concept and method.

(2) *Population studies.* The realm of "population studies" is as broad as the spectrum of both the natural and social sciences in which human population phenomena are related to other systems of variables, either as independent or dependent factors. It is possible here to point to just a few areas of research in population studies of major interest to sociologists. These will be restricted to studies of factors in fertility, studies in internal migration, studies in human ecology, and studies in "urbanization."

The sociologist and social psychologist, in general, may have a special interest in the researches designed to predict and explain fertility behavior. For it is in this area of research that the greatest effort has been made to relate population phenomena to systems of culturalological and social-psychological variables. The major study of social-psychological factors in fertility in Indianapolis in 1938 is now being followed up by two representative national studies attempting to build on the preceding research.¹¹ This area of study offers as much research challenge to the student of culture, values, personality, social organization, social stratification, and the like as to the demographer. For in the effort to relate culturalological and social-psychological factors to fertility behavior, the sociologist and social psychologist has the opportunity to devise theory and hypotheses and to obtain metrics of the phenomena in which he is interested that can be tested in relation to the relatively reliable, valid, and precise measurements of fertility.

Research studies into the streams of migration, the characteristics of migrants, and the problems of acculturation, accommodation, and assimilation of migrants have been severely restricted by the inadequacies of data on migration, especially on internal migration. Improving data,

⁹ Hannes Hyrenius, "Population Growth and Replacement," Chap. 20, *ibid.*

¹⁰ "The Data and Methods," Chap. 3, *ibid.*

¹¹ Charles F. Westoff, Elliot G. Mishler, Robert G. Potter, Jr., Clyde V. Kiser, "A New Study of American Fertility," *Eugenics Quarterly*, 2: 229-33, and P. K. Whelpton and Ronald Freedman, "A Study of the Growth of American Families," *The American Journal of Sociology*, LXI: 595-602.

concept, and method are paving the way for new research on migration in relation to social as well as economic and other factors at the points of origin and the destination of migrants. Moreover, the study of migration leads to community studies, to studies of the adjustment of both the migrants and the communities affected by in- and out-migration. The great increase in the internal migration of Negroes since 1910, and especially during and since World War II, has opened up new research areas relating demographic problems to problems in intergroup relations, in general, as well as to the problems specifically revolving about the Negro in the United States.¹²

Of a more restricted order, in terms of number of sociologists interested, is the increasing research relating demographic to ecological phenomena. Although there are only a relatively small number of sociologists with a major interest in demographic and ecological research, such research represents the continuation of the great tradition initiated by Durkheim in his concern with "social morphology"; and may contribute materially to a better understanding of "urbanism as a way of life" as well as to ecological and demographic knowledge, as such.¹³

Finally, to conclude this brief listing of research areas on "population studies," attention should be directed to the sustained interest in studies of "urbanization" and "urbanism" in which demographic and ecological variables are usually involved. This field of research is closely related to the studies in human ecology to which reference is made above, but its focus may be somewhat different. It is a research area in which it is possible to use and to test some of the ideal-type constructs which have been part of the sociological literature for some time, but which have been treated more as conclusions of research than as the tools for research which they were largely intended to be. For example, research in this area is beginning to point to the limitations and inadequacies of the "urban-rural," "folk-urban," "community-society," and similar dichotomizations or continua. Moreover, it may be expected similarly to subject to test many of the notions of urban ecological structure and process, undoubtedly subject to the limitations, affecting most social science, of "historicism." Particularly significant is the growing research in this area which is focusing on non-Western or less economically developed societies. Such studies in Asia, Africa, and South America

¹² Bogue, *op. cit.*

¹³ Duncan, "Human Ecology and Population Studies," Chap. 28, Hauser and Duncan, *op. cit.*

are beginning to point up the time and space limitations and even ethnocentric character of significant aspects of "urban sociology."¹⁴

Concluding Observations. Population studies may be viewed as a significant area for the advancement of sociological research in general. As the attention of the demographer turns more from "demographic analysis" to "population studies," the sociologist interested in the culturalological and the social psychological, as well as the ecological, may find new opportunity for his own and collaborative research. For in efforts to interrelate demographic with other systems of variables, it may be anticipated that better predictability and explanation will be achieved in respect not only of population but also of other sociological phenomena.

¹⁴ Louis Wirth, *Community Life and Social Policy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956), pp. 172 ff., and Philip M. Hauser, editor, *Urbanization in Asia and the Far East*, UNESCO, Calcutta (forthcoming volume, 1958).

AREAS FOR RESEARCH IN MEDICAL SOCIOLOGY

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To social scientists now engaged in research, teaching, or service programs in a medical school, any delineation of research areas might at this time be regarded as premature. Since research is a major function of most social scientists in medical schools today and since the marriage of medicine and sociology is still in the courtship stage it may be too early to establish any hard and fast rules or principles, or arenas of research in this field. On the other hand, perhaps some effort to establish a sense of direction and systematic inquiry into medical sociology might be of some useful purpose at this time. Furthermore, new recruits into medical sociology might be in need of some guidance as to where they might best apply their research efforts. It is toward such an end that this brief paper will strive within these space restrictions.

Eight specific rubrics or heuristic research categories are suggested as a possible beginning for establishing systematic research areas in medical sociology.¹ These areas might be labeled as follows: social epidemiology, social etiology, health and the community, social aspects of medical care and treatment, the sociology of the patient, the sociology of medical education, healing practices and practitioners (or the sociology of medical practice), and the medical setting—hospital, clinic, and office. All such research areas should contribute toward a greater understanding of the relationship between society, illness and health, and treatment or medicine in the broader sense of encompassing the art and science of healing. These areas for research are briefly discussed below:

(1) *Social epidemiology.* Epidemiology may be a strange term to social scientists not exposed to medical science and teaching. Literally it means the study of common diseases affecting a particular population, such as the rates of incidence and prevalence of various forms of illnesses among a particular aggregate or group of individuals. Its techniques are closely related to that of demography and ecology, and training in

¹ These rubrics form the major sections of a forthcoming effort to compile representative articles in behavioral science and medicine. See E. G. Jaco, ed., *Patients, Physicians and Illness: Sourcebook in Behavioral Science and Medicine* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958, late spring).

these two areas is especially useful to social scientists engaged in epidemiological research. Perhaps the most common sociological variable to be employed in social epidemiology has been that of social class or socioeconomic status, as exemplified by studies of this relationship to mental illness, mortality differentials, and morbidity and mortality rates of large categories of diseases. Some other sociological variables that have been used in epidemiological research include ethnic groups, occupation, education, marital status and other family factors, and such ecological and demographic factors as migration, areas, zones, regions, population density, and degree of heterogeneity of an area.

(2) *Social etiology.* While knowledge about the factors that "cause" or lead to the onset of illness may be enhanced from social epidemiological research findings, such data in themselves are insufficient to establish conclusively the sufficient conditions, variables, or factors that actually bring about the disease in either an individual or groups of individuals.²

Perhaps the term most used by social scientists in their etiologic theories and explanations is that of "social stress." Stress conditions have been found associated with various forms of bodily disease such as hives, ulcers of the stomach, colon, and other internal parts of the body, cardiovascular disorders, pulmonary tuberculosis, rheumatoid arthritis, along with a wide array of mental and emotional illnesses. Stress engendered by the social situation leading to dysfunction of the organism, such as "lowering of resistance" and thus causing increasing susceptibility to disease (i.e., increasing the risk of acquiring disease-agents), constitutes a formulation that is readily acceptable in most medical circles. One widely held etiologic formulation is the separation of causal factors of illness into two categories: precipitating and predisposing influences. Precipitating factors are those that accelerate or trigger off the onset of the illness, while predisposing factors encompass those conditions that increase the susceptibility or risk of developing an illness. In such terms, therefore, an individual who is susceptible to a disease when exposed to those factors that will precipitate the onset of that illness will therefore become a patient or will acquire that disease.³

² Although the term "etiology" is no longer fashionable among scientists in areas other than medicine, the social scientist will be confronted continually with this term while in the medical field. However, the sociologist can accept and use this term in its broadest sense without doing violence to other views of probability, research methodology, and theory construction in this realm.

³ For a recent formulation, see E. G. Jaco, "Social Stress and Mental Illness in the Community," in Marvin Sussman, ed., *Community Science and Analysis* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1958, in press).

It is possibly in this area of etiology that social science has yet to make its mark in the medical and health fields. Any inadequacies in the social science disciplines are more likely to be pointed up in those studies or efforts to determine the connection between various social conditions and the onset of illness. Considerable effort can therefore be expended in developing better empirical techniques of research as well as conducting investigations utilizing existing methods to determine factors of social etiology of diseases.

(3) *Health and the community.* Despite the tremendous advances made in medical treatment, there still remain large segments of the typical human community who do not take advantage of them for a variety of reasons that mostly fall within the category of social attitudes and values. Health as well as illness has been found to be associated with many living conditions of the community apart from what have been traditionally regarded as medical factors. Within this area would come the study of those factors to which individuals are exposed and eventually bring about disease itself, such as the existence of unsanitary health practices, inadequate dietary habits, ignorance or lack of attention to preventive health measures, and inactivity in obtaining proper medical treatment due to failure to recognize symptoms of illness, and so on. In this area would also be included those studies dealing with the success or failure of health programs and programs of prevention of diseases in the community as they affect larger segments of the human population.

(4) *Sociocultural aspects of medical care and treatment.* This area has to do with the impact of culture on the process of medical care and treatment itself, along with studies of folk and primitive medicine. The folkways and mores affecting modes of medical care have been studied in addition to those factors in the community that affect who becomes a patient. The norms and values that the physician himself brings into his relationship to his patient and that affect his modes of managing the care of that patient have been studied from several points of view. Some studies have shown that the treatment process itself is affected by cultural conditions and that it is not a process devoid of social control. The influence of societal norms and values on medical care and treatment is an area of inquiry much in need of further study in this realm. Also modes of healing by persons other than physicians, such as "folk-practitioners," the impact of "lay"-medicine, "do-it-yourself" types of treatment, false healing folklore, home remedies, and folk and primitive medicine in general are also some subjects of investigation under this rubric.

(5) *The patient: the person with an illness.* The sociology of the patient is gaining increasingly more attention from social scientists. Recognition of the fact that the patient is a person who is a member of various groups with many responsibilities along with many of the attitudes and values of his segment of society, as well as an organism with an illness, may be viewed as a separate area of research in medical sociology. This area might be termed the sociology of the patient, which would include those modes of response of the patient to pain, treatment, experiences in the hospital, clinic, or office of the physician, as well as how he reacts to illness itself, interprets his symptomatology, and the social conditions that affect his social role as patient.

(6) *Sociology of medical education.* Studies in the process of becoming a physician are beginning to receive more investigation by sociologists interested in medical education and its impact upon the student-physician. In addition to those studies of the process of professionalization of the physician and the shifting of roles from medical student to practitioner through the channel of the medical educational institution, the problems of teaching social science concepts to medical students are also being investigated by sociologists. The changing medical curriculum and the problems of teaching the art and science of medicine to students would also come under this rubric.

(7) *Healing practices and practitioners.* The sociology of medical practice as well as the roles and functions of various types of healers without M.D.'s in both nonliterate and contemporary societies is a subject of special interest to many social scientists. Trends in specialization of medical practice, changes in the careers of physicians, medical ethics and malpractice problems, the relationship of the physician to specialists in his own field and others, as well as other types of healers, such as the osteopath and chiropractor, have been studied. Uppermost in this area would be the study of the doctor-patient relationship and how it is affected by the subculture of medicine, the characteristics of the physician and his background, as well as that of his patient and his particular disease entity or illness.

(8) *The medical setting: hospital, clinic, and office.* Studies of the social structure of a variety of hospitals have been a major activity of social scientists in medicine. Conflicts between various staff and line positions in the hospital structure have been studied in mental hospitals, as well as in other types of general and teaching hospitals. The role and status relationships of physicians to hospital administrators, nurses of various ranks, and the various types of ancillary and technical workers

in the hospital structure constitute a most fruitful arena of sociological research. In turn, such studies may contribute much to sociological theory of social organization, and power and status relationships. Power structure, the hospital bureaucratic organization, and its somewhat castelike social structure are still in need of considerably more research before a practical application of these findings can be extensively made. The study of various outpatient clinics or day-patient populations themselves would be included under this area of research. Problems of office practice are also subjects for considerable study. The setting in which the physician conducts his practice—in the hospital, clinic, or office—therefore constitutes a special area of research for the medical sociologist.

RESEARCH AREAS IN INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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It is doubtful whether there is a distinctive field that can be labeled "International Sociology." There are, rather, a number of discrete sociological problems that have little in common as to theory, method of research, or focus of practical application that share only the requirement that research on them must at least in part be carried on outside the geographic borders of one country (generally conceived ethnocentrically as the United States). A formal definition would thus state no more than that international sociology is the study of social problems or situations involving two or more nations.

(1) *Social effects of technical aids.* The influence of technical aids to underdeveloped countries is akin to the study of the social effects of industrialization and urbanization within the United States, complicated by the relative speed of the induced changes and by the fact that the specific forms of technical aid have been developed in one culture and are being transferred to another culture in which they may not so readily "fit." This type of study has been led by economists, who have found it increasingly necessary to turn to sociological aspects of their problem because sociologists have not taken the independent initiative of turning their scientific attention to the problem. Perhaps the most important researches in the field are reported in the periodical *Economic Development and Culture Change*,¹ edited by an economist Berthold F. Hoselitz.

(2) *Resistances to change.* A considerable number of the researches have focused on the topic of resistances to change. The institutional structure of underdeveloped societies has been built on the agricultural village type of society or occasionally the even more dispersed pastoral clans. The shift to more economically efficient forms of agriculture and industry often involves a disruption of the whole institutional structure of the society and of the traditional way of life, and hence people resist what is obviously to their economic advantage. In Southern Italy, for example, a sociological research problem has been created by the unwillingness of landless part-time farm laborers to leave their un-

¹ Published by the Research Center of Economic Development and Culture Change at the University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.

comfortable cave homes in unsightly villages and even "agricultural cities" for new homes distributed on small patches of land throughout the countryside. In Turkey, to illustrate a related point, government and industry are experimenting with bringing factories to the former agricultural towns so that the new forms of production can be developed without disrupting the community and its institutions. Here there is an opportunity to study the degree and nature of social change when there is industrialization without emigration.

(3) *New machines and economic organizations.* Engineers and economists have not infrequently found that the introduction of new types of machinery and economic organizations that "work" so easily in technically advanced countries has created a burst of new problems in underdeveloped countries. The study of some of these problems and the devising of solutions for them are obvious challenges to sociologists. Machinery introduced into an agricultural or isolated factory setting is quickly ruined by a people not trained in the proper care and repair of such machinery even when those people do not mean to be careless and are enthusiastic over the technological innovation. The research in such cases must be directed at the problem of inducing technical know-how and proper "feeling for machinery" in a society where children do not have machines in the home to inspect and tinker with. There will also probably be a developing research interest in the different rates of speed at which automation is taking place in different nations and the consequences of these differences for the social and political organization of these nations.

Sometimes the effect of introducing modern factories into a rigid class society dominated by political oligarchies is to lower the standard of living for the bulk of the population and concentrate wealth even more in the hands of the upper class. The new types of economic production eliminate the traditional "countervailing forces" which maintained some degree of distribution of wealth, without substituting the "alien" countervailing forces that we use in our society to keep most of the wealth widely distributed (such as trade unions and enforcement of tax laws). Sociologists can contribute to the understanding, prediction, and control of such situations by studying the class and power structure of the society. The problem is essentially one of studying the industrialization of a feudal society.

(4) *Passing of colonialism.* Many of the underdeveloped countries have only recently emerged as independent nations—having formerly been dominated by the European imperial powers. The passing of

colonialism creates unanticipated problems, some of which the sociologist is particularly qualified to study and help to solve. The colonial officials often administered educational, welfare, and other programs which natives have to learn to take over if they do not wish to slip into the savagery from which the imperialist power had sometimes lifted them. The ex-colonial peoples particularly have to learn how to be responsible citizens vis-a-vis governments of their own choosing instead of passive or violent resisters toward a government imposed by a foreign power. This includes developing and coping with new institutions such as the exercise of the franchise, the political party, the political opposition parties, the vote-seeking government officials, public property now owned and controlled by the citizenry, etc.

(5) *National identification and attitudes.* The ex-colonial peoples offer an especially challenging set of sociological problems of national identification and national attitudes, another area of research for "international sociology." Quite often the political boundaries of the new nation have been created arbitrarily; and diverse tribes, religious groups, or nationalities find themselves linked together in a common nation with the task of creating a common society and a common governing body. The violent experiences of an India or Indonesia in birth, the creative solutions devised by a Lebanon, the political struggles of a Ghana are fascinating subjects of study for a sociologist. How do people gain and extend their concept of themselves as a nation, how do they transform traditional feuds and rivalries into formal political opposition, how do they learn to perceive their nation as one among many, how do they reconcile themselves to the former imperial power?

People of all nations usually have distinctive attitudes toward the peoples and governments of other nations. The Unesco-sponsored study of a few years ago used identical questions on cross sections of the populations of several countries for the purpose of making direct comparisons of national attitudes,² and occasionally the national public opinion organizations collaborate by using the same questions to extend this kind of study. An ordinary sociologist could not duplicate these extensive studies without the research facilities available to the polling organizations. But he can, by more limited but more intensive studies, specify the nature of national images and national stereotypes more realistically, so that the polling organizations can use more appropriate questions in their national surveys. For this purpose, the sociologist can

² William Buchanan and Hadley Cantril, *How Nations See Each Other: A Study in Public Opinion* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953).

engage in content analysis of popular literature, intensive interviewing of a small number of articulate or key persons, observation of reactions to international events or to foreigners in the country. The concept of "national attitude" has not infrequently been used in research; another fruitful concept for research would be "national image" or integrated complex of attitudes. The sources, motives, and uses of such national images could provide further lines of sociological research. Such research should not stop with the obvious and superficial connections and relationships, but should probe into unconscious symbolism and historical developments.

(6) *International and national tensions.* One of the major purposes of studying national attitudes is to be better able to understand international tensions, and there is a hope that by correcting inaccurate stereotypes the tensions can be reduced. This approach has proved to be of only limited value, perhaps because sociological factors have usually been ignored in both the research and the educational process. Sometimes the problem is not at all one of inaccurate stereotypes, but one of conflict of interests. The difficulty is not that people of the two nations involved do not understand each other, but that they understand each other too well. The whole sociology of conflict would be pertinent for the study of such situations.

Problems arise in the relations between groups of people within any one country, and yet do not assume the extreme form that international conflicts take. The reason is not solely that the interests are more divergent or that the groups involved are larger. Part of the reason is that there exist social structures within a nation for limiting, controlling, and mediating conflict. Sociologists can help study how such controlling institutions develop and get strong, and how conflict institutions themselves change and get changed. Sociologists can also contribute to the study of the use of political, economic, and social power in the creation or diminution of international conflict. "Structure" and "power" are concepts of equal importance to "attitude" and "tension" in the study of international relations. A new arena for the study of international conflict would be *within* some of the United Nations bodies, such as the General Assembly, the Social and Economic Council, the Emergency Force, Unesco, or the International Labor Office.

It is my experience that the American sociologist is welcomed into the international arena. Governments of the underdeveloped countries have rapidly come to realize that their economic problems have a sociological dimension, and they want American sociologists not only to participate

in research on these many and overwhelming problems but also to train natives of these countries to do the necessary research. International organizations have usually been somewhat more chary of sociological research, mainly because they are afraid that the research itself might aggravate the problem. The relative lack of independent power ("sovereignty") of these international organizations makes them highly susceptible to pressure, and often their directors believe they cannot afford the risk of honest and objective research. On the other hand, there are notable exceptions, and sociologists have not yet taken advantage of all the existing opportunities.

AREAS OF RESEARCH IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

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The aim of this paper is to classify areas of research in Industrial Sociology on the basis of certain assumptions about the nature of the social structure of industry. These assumptions are discussed briefly in the next few paragraphs, but no attempt is made to demonstrate them in this paper.¹

The subject matter of industrial sociology is the whole field of social relations into which human beings enter, by virtue of participating in the process of industrial production. Of these types of social relations, it seems possible to detect two in particular which may serve as separate foci of research. First there are those social relations which arise directly from the social nature of production; people meet together and work together, whether in an office, on the assembly line, or on a freight industry are related to each other in such formal, and often impersonal, ways as occupying different positions on a chain of command, sharing train. These we shall call *the social relations of work*. Second, people in rights in the products of labor, working at machines owned by others (that is, in a property relationship); a good example, perhaps, is afforded by the relations into which management and labor enter through the medium of the labor contract. These social relations we shall call the *formal relations of production*.

It is the task of industrial sociology to explore both these types of social relations in all their details and forms, in their static or structural mode as well as in their changing and developing mode. This involves more than merely describing; it involves discovering and exploring those factors which are determining the structure, the functions, the changes in these social relations. In attempting to classify such factors it seems useful to make another twofold distinction, again based upon certain previous assumptions about industry. These "causative" factors may be divided into those arising within the industry itself and those arising from some portion of the society. The social structure of indus-

¹ Some of these assumptions are discussed in my book, *Industrial Sociology; The Social Relations of Industry and the Community* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1957), Chap. 3.

try is the resultant of the combined operations of these forces. By this we mean (1) that both types of forces may be operating on any portion of the social structure of industry and (2) that both of these forces may be themselves interrelated.²

Much research in industrial sociology has, until recently, been concentrated on social relations of work considered within the context of industry: e.g., studies of informal and formal work groups, the structure of an office, role behavior, informal relations between union officials and managers.³ Studies of formal relations of production are not so common, but some fine examples do exist.⁴

The need for research in this area arises primarily from the fact that much of the existing research, even if it is more than descriptive, has been conducted within a limited concept of the significant, internal context. The task of research should be to consider the influence on the social relations of work of such internal forces as the following: unionization or nonunionization of the plant, degree of bureaucratization in local unions and degree of "softness" or "hardness" of their officials, the profit record of the firm, changes in management, ownership, or control, changing managerial or workers' ideologies, growth or decay of bureaucratic organization, types of goods manufactured, age and sex structure of the working force, the relative power and influence of departments (or the appearance of new ones), conflicts between powerful personalities and groups. This is not meant to be more than a suggestive list, of course, but it may imply what a welter of forces may have to be taken into account if the significance of even a single social phenomenon—an informal group, a worker's role, a meeting between union and management officials—is to be grasped.

The second focus of research is the relation of the social structure of industry to society or community forces. This area, in the opinion of this writer, has been the most neglected one in industrial sociology. The

² For an illuminating analysis of the relation of social phenomena to the context in which they occur, see Arthur K. Davis, "Social Theory and Social Problems," *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, XVIII: 190-208.

³ The best-known examples are probably supplied by the "Mayo" school of Industrial Sociology. This is particularly true of research which has been modeled on that reported in *Management and the Worker*, by Fritz Jules Roethlisberger and William J. Dickson (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1934). However, sociometric research as well as much other small-group research continues to be essentially of this nature. For a fuller bibliography the reader is referred again to my book, *Industrial Sociology: The Social Relations of Industry and the Community*; see particularly the bibliographies for Chaps. 5-9.

⁴ See, for instance, *The Social System of the Modern Factory* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1947), by W. Lloyd Warner and J. O. Low; and Alvin W. Gouldner, *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1954).

assumption of many industrial sociologists seems to have been that industry as a whole, or separate industries, or single phenomena within industry could be studied as if they constituted separate little sub-cultures, isolated from contact with other cultures. In point of fact, it may be argued with some force that industry as the very core of our society is strongly interrelated with a host of societal factors. It is suggested here that the influence on the social structure of industry of such "societal" factors as the following badly needs study.

(1) *Relations between industry and community factors.* First, research is needed on the relations between the social structure of industry and certain broad features of local communities. For instance, there should be study of the influence on industry of location in various ecological areas of the city. There should be research into the connections between the social structure of an industry, on the one hand, and changes in the nature and size of the population, growth or disappearance of skills in the working force, obsolescence of buildings and slum clearance projects, developments of race relations, the tax structure, local political developments, community attitudes toward unions, on the other.

(2) *Industry and other institutions.* Second, research is needed into the relations between industry and other institutions. There is need for studies of the interrelations of industry and state, local, and federal government. There is need for study of the relationship between industry and educational facilities and policies, between religious organizations and industry, between military institutions and the industries which supply them. There is strong need for study of the interrelationships of industry and the family. Research is needed on the relationship between industry and races, ethnic groups, minority religions. Investigation is needed of the relationships between industry and our shifting class and status structures. Finally, there is need for research into the formal organizations of industry and labor, and of the roles they play in influencing various institutions.

(3) *Industry and historical forces.* There is, thirdly, a vital need for industrial sociology to relate its subject matter to what for want of a better term we shall call "historical forces." One "historical force" is the business cycle, which has lately made a strong reappearance. Certainly no one could seriously maintain that the business cycle does not have some effect on both the social relations of work and the formal relations of production.⁵

⁵ It is interesting to note that, although some of the experiments reported by Roethlisberger and Dickson in *Management and the Worker* were performed in almost the worst period of the depression, there are scarcely any references to it. Can anyone seriously believe that the behavior and sentiments of the workingmen in that factory were unaffected by so immediate and catastrophic an event?

(4) *Industry and political and military developments.* Further, research is needed on the extent to which the social structure of industry is affected by political or politico-military events, policies, and decisions: e.g., the adoption of an anti-Communist foreign policy, the pursuit of a large war-preparations program, the rise and fall of a movement like McCarthyism, the loss of markets in countries taken over by Communists, the rise of independent nations in formerly colonial areas, the change of an administration, the growth of new political attitudes among the public. The hard blow which our airplane industry has recently sustained as a result of a politico-military decision is an example of how the social structure of an entire industry may be affected by external forces.

(5) *Industry and sociohistorical movements.* Again, research is needed in the area of the interrelations between industry and certain broad sociohistorical movements. Reference is being made here, for instance, to the continuing northward migration of Negroes into metropolitan centers, to the rapid urbanization of a good part of what is left of the rural population, to the recent upsurge in population, and to its changing age composition, to recent changes in class and status structure. It is true that industry has had a strong influence on many of these social developments, but they may, in turn, be having a strong reactive effect on the social structure of industry.

(6) *Industry and scientific and technological development.* Finally, there is the realm of scientific and technological development, which may have fateful consequences indeed for the social structure of any particular industry or of industry in general. Certainly, research has not been lacking in this area, but much of this research has concentrated on the relatively minor aspects of technological change, e.g., the introduction of a labor-saving machine. However, more spectacular changes are almost certainly at hand. One development of this type is automation, and research on the influences of automation on the social structure of industry has begun to appear. Yet much more will be needed in this field if automation becomes widely dispersed in industry. Automation, however, is merely one of a series of changes which now portend for industry. What, for instance, will be the effect on the social structure of industry of the development of new products, of the need for complicated instruments like missiles which absorb a relatively high percentage of skilled labor and a relatively low proportion of unskilled and semiskilled labor, of the need to face the growing threat of destruction through missile *cum* nuclear warhead? What does the present

development of atomic power through fission portend for industry? And what if thermonuclear power should suddenly be made available at fantastically cheap rates? One may hazard that the future effectiveness of Industrial Sociology may be measured in good part by its ability to keep abreast of scientific and technological change.

AREAS FOR RESEARCH IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY

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Although there was some sociological research in rural areas earlier, most studies have been made since enactment of the Purnell Act of 1925. This law provided authorization "... for such economic and sociological investigations as have for their purpose the development and improvement of the rural home and rural life."¹ By September 1956, 107 rural sociologists were employed either full or part time by twenty-nine Agricultural Experiment Stations.² A few others were employed in research positions in various agencies of the United States Department of Agriculture. Many sociologists without official connections with agriculture also conduct research in rural areas.

Like most research by Agricultural Experiment Station workers in other fields, the bulk of the research undertaken by rural sociologists has a practical orientation. Many projects are undertaken to provide information specifically requested for use in solving problems encountered by agricultural action agencies and organizations. Most other studies, even though not specifically requested for such purposes, are problem oriented rather than theory oriented. In recent years, however, rural sociologists have shown increasing interest in theory-guided research; many current papers reveal attempts to combine applied and fundamental objectives.

Nearly all of the subjects covered by other contributors to this special issue of *Sociology and Social Research* should be studied in rural settings. Many have been. The research interests and activities of rural sociologists cover so many areas that it would hardly be possible for me to attempt to identify a few subject areas where research is most needed and expect

* Approved by the Washington Agricultural Experiment Stations for publication.

¹ Cf. Paul H. Landis, "Development of Rural Sociology in the United States," in *Rural Life in Process* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Second Edition, 1948).

² Cf. *Workers in Subjects Pertaining to Agriculture in Land-Grant Colleges and Experiment Stations*, Agriculture Handbook No. 116, Agricultural Research Service, USDA, Washington, D.C., February 1957.

other rural sociologists to agree on priorities.³ Consequently, this paper will be restricted to selected aspects of three subjects in which major research problems have been identified by committees of the Rural Sociological Society.

(1) *Diffusion of agricultural technology.* In spite of the tremendous increases in American agricultural production which have been achieved through successful diffusion of new farm technology, rates of diffusion are uneven. Consequently, professional agriculturists, farm organizations and agencies are greatly interested in diffusion studies. In addition, such studies are needed in foreign countries to help technicians understand successes and/or failures of attempts to diffuse American farm technology.

In 1952, a committee of the Rural Sociological Society, after a careful review of diffusion research, identified four major problems for further research.⁴ Although some work has been done on these problems since 1952, additional work is needed.

The first involves determination of the extent to which differential acceptance of farm practices is a function of status, role, and motivation of farm operators and their families.

The second involves analysis of the differential acceptance of farm practices as a function of sociocultural systems. The committee recommended that emphasis be given to the dominant value orientations of particular social systems, the degree of cultural isolation, the extent and nature of social stratification, the relative importance of agriculture as compared with nonfarm occupations, and the type and amount of leadership. The writer believes that particular attention should be given to aspects of the culture, associated with particular social systems, which may either inhibit or facilitate adoption of new farm and home technology.

The third involves study of diffusion as an aspect of cultural change. Here attention was directed by the committee to the rate and process of diffusion of different types of farm practices in various sociocultural systems, identification of stages of diffusion, and the impact of new practices upon existing culture patterns.

³ Cf. Edmund deS. Brunner, *The Growth of a Science, A Half Century of Rural Sociological Research in the United States* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), and W. A. Anderson, *Bibliography of Researches in Rural Sociology*, Rural Sociology Publication No. 52, Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Ithaca, New York, August 1957, pp. 117-29.

⁴ *Sociological Research on the Diffusion and Adoption of New Farm Practices, A Review of Previous Research and a Statement of Hypotheses and Needed Research*, A Report of the Subcommittee on the Diffusion and Adoption of Farm Practices, The Rural Sociological Society, published by Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Kentucky, Lexington, June 1952.

The fourth involves study of diffusion as a problem of communication of information. Viewed within this frame of reference, major emphasis was placed upon sources of information, differences in kinds of information, forms and techniques of communications, the relationship of recipients' characteristics to sources utilized, and the relative importance of different information media.

(2) *Rural population problems.* In 1954, a committee of the Rural Sociological Society reviewed the population studies made by rural sociologists and identified significant problems for further research.⁵ As in the case of diffusion research, these problems require additional research.

Hagood observed that the major problem for fertility research is to identify factors associated with fertility of groups within the rural population which have similar fertility levels so as to develop a basis for population projections. An interesting suggestion by Hagood was that field studies be made to ascertain the relationship of attitudes to fertility. The factors associated with changes in attitudes toward size of family should also be explored.

Hitt, Beegle, and Burrus recommended further research to determine the true level of rural mortality compared with urban mortality and to ascertain the factors which specifically influence the rural death rate. They suggested that students of differential mortality should investigate the relative importance of various causes of death. In addition, they observed that further study of the association of differential mortality with such factors as social stratification, tenure status, race ethnic origins, type of farming, educational backgrounds, and income might be fruitful. Another interesting aspect of the subject of mortality to which Hitt, Beegle, and Burrus called attention is the possibility that the health-related attitudes of members of distinctive social systems may be related to differential mortality. To illustrate this, they commented on the relationship between social status and the use of particular types of medical facilities and services, pointing out that "... the elite, for example, often do not patronize local doctors and hospitals, since prestige is enhanced or reinforced through patronage of specialists and nonlocal hospitals."

⁵ "Dynamics of the Rural Population," Report of the Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Population of the Rural Sociological Society; Margaret J. Hagood, "Part I. Levels and Trends in Fertility Behavior," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 19, No. 1, pp. 73-74; Homer L. Hitt, J. Allan Beegle, and John N. Burrus, "Part II. Levels and Trends in Rural Mortality," pp. 75-78; and T. Lynn Smith, "Part III. Levels and Trends in Rural Migration," pp. 78-82.

Smith characterized migration data as least satisfactory, both in quantity and quality, of any major aspect of rural population. He identified four problems which he regarded of paramount importance:

The first involves measuring the amount of migration between major political units such as counties, cities, and states. In this connection, he took the position that county data are "... by far the most significant of those gathered and published by the Bureau of the Census or any other agency." Such data undoubtedly have some importance, but to the writer it seems that limited funds would be better spent on sampling studies designed to increase our knowledge concerning the characteristics and motivations of migrants associated with various types of sociocultural systems.

The second involves ascertaining the nature of the selective processes involved in rural-urban migration with particular reference to physical health and intelligence. This is certainly an important problem to urban as well as rural sociologists.

The third involves examining the extent and nature of migration of operators and laborers from farm to farm and area to area with the occupation of agriculture. Here Smith properly places emphasis upon the relationship of migration and vertical social mobility within agriculture.

The fourth involves investigating the problems of migratory agricultural laborers and their families, both with reference to the impact of migration on the migrants and their families and upon the communities in which they work.

(3) *Rural levels and standards of family living.* The continuing interest of rural sociologists in studies of rural levels and standards of living doubtless is due, in large part, to the emphasis of the Purnell Act on ameliorative studies.

In 1956, a committee of the Rural Sociological Society critically reviewed previous studies in this subject area and offered a number of recommendations with respect to further research.⁶

An important recommendation was that research be focused on problems, methods, and hypotheses which have demonstrated conceptual relevance for sociology. In this connection, the committee suggested the use of "functional analysis" as a frame of reference. Whether this is the most useful frame of reference may be open to question, but the emphasis of the committee upon studies employing sociological methods and concepts is certainly sound.

⁶ "Sociological Research in Rural Levels and Standards of Living," Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Rural Levels and Standards of Living, The Rural Sociological Society, *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 183-95.

The committee correctly observed that further methodological innovations are required, especially in regard to sampling and the construction of scales and indexes for significant social systems such as cliques and social classes.

The committee suggested that "Research should show the extent to which family values affect decisions to obtain living items and, also, how goals in farming affect these decisions." This is particularly relevant at present because of the current emphasis of the Agricultural Extension Service upon planning by family groups for balanced farm and home development.

Another area emphasized by the committee involves studies of the influence of social-psychological factors in an effort to gain further understanding of observed differences in levels of living. The writer would like to suggest that attention should also be given to ascertaining the influence of the subculture of reference groups on the standards and associated levels of living of families and individuals.

NEEDED RESEARCH IN COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR

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Less than two decades have passed since collective behavior began to progress beyond the provocative observations of men like LeBon, Bagehot, and E. A. Ross and historical studies like those of Edwards and Raper.¹ Research in collective behavior turned toward more specific theory testing with such interview investigations as the Lazarsfeld public opinion studies, Cantril's *Invasion from Mars*, and Shibutani's analysis of pre-evacuation rumors among American Japanese.² As part of the growing movement for laboratory study of small groups, J. R. P. French attempted to induce panic under controlled observation, and G. E. Swanson attempted to create the conditions essential to test a series of propositions regarding the acting crowd.³ Ambitiously carrying the laboratory approach to whole cities, Stuart Dodd studied rumor process following mass leaflet drops.⁴ The largest program of research in the field today is the ongoing study of community response to disaster by interdisciplinary teams using a battery of methods.⁵

Relatively little of the current and recent investigation stems from a primary interest in building a theory of collective behavior. While valuable use can often be made of studies which examine some phenomenon of collective behavior incidentally to the study of political parties, community resources in disaster, or race relations, the findings are often

¹ Gustave LeBon, *The Crowd* (London: T. F. Unwin, 1897); Walter Bagehot, *Physics and Politics* (first published in 1869); E. A. Ross, *Social Psychology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908); Lyford P. Edwards, *The Natural History of Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927); Arthur F. Raper, *The Tragedy of Lynching* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933).

² Hadley Cantril, Hazel Gaudet, and Herta Herzog, *Invasion from Mars* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940); Tamotsu Shibutani, "Rumors in a Crisis Situation" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1944).

³ J. R. P. French, "Organized and Unorganized Groups Under Fear and Frustration," in Kurt Lewin, et al., *Authority and Frustration*, University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, XX: 231-307; Guy E. Swanson, "A Preliminary Laboratory Study of an Acting Crowd," *American Sociological Review*, 18: 522-33, 1953.

⁴ Stuart Dodd, "Testing Message Diffusion in Controlled Experiments," *American Sociological Review*, 18: 410-16, 1953.

⁵ National Research Council Committee on Disaster Studies, Washington, D.C., various reports.

peripheral rather than crucial for collective behavior. Light shed on causes for the mass attitudes which underlie rioting does not necessarily clarify the essential conditions and processes through which attitudes eventuate in collective action. Usual research techniques are probably more effective in exploring individual panic and disorganization than in clarifying the phenomenon of collective panic. Distortions in transmitting information may be studied microscopically in the laboratory without reproducing the atmosphere distinctive to rumor.

By contrast, S. Frank Miyamoto has endeavored to determine in one instance the conditions essential to converting local discontent into collective protest.⁶ And in a unique experimental approach to panic, Putney and Cadwallader have shown the spontaneous emergence of a collective defense against incipient panic.⁷ Following the lead of such investigators, research is needed which will focus specifically on key problems in the development of comprehensive theory in collective behavior. Four such problems will be suggested and briefly discussed.

(1) *Decision-making in collective behavior.* The first problem about which little is understood is decision-making in collective behavior. The stereotyped view of the crowd as almost mechanically transmitting attitudes through suggestion, of the public as a context of individual decision-making, and of the social movement as precommitted to a cause has precluded viewing these phenomena as contexts for collective decision. The process in collective behavior is in some respects unique, since it takes place without the each-to-all interaction of the small group or the fairly well defined formal and informal channels of institutional decision. Beyond demonstrating the fairly obvious facts that decision-making takes place partially in small groups and is not altogether independent of institutional communication networks, research is needed which will clarify the uniquenesses.

As an example of a problem in collective behavior decision-making we may cite the manner in which small group discussion is incorporated into an inclusive decision in an incipient crowd. A few tentative observations might afford a starting point for investigation. In the crowd in its early stages many small knots of speakers and listeners are linked by a goodly number of circulating individuals who glean and relay comments as they

⁶ Frank Miyamoto, "An Interactional Approach to Intergroup Conflict," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, 19: 121-24, 1951.

⁷ Snell W. Putney and Mervyn L. Cadwallader, "An Experiment in Crisis Interaction," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, 22: 94-102, 1954.

pass from group to group. While each knot is a small group, it differs from the conventional small group in its constantly changing membership. Each knot is oriented to the presence of the other groups and guided in its discussion by at least an undertone of feeling that one of the other knots may have the answers that are sought. Because of this orientation and because of the changing membership, discussion consists largely of repeating anecdotes and judgments which define attitudes. As compared with conventional small groups, it may be supposed that decisions are guided disproportionately by the weight of repetition and the search for support among groups.

In a somewhat different fashion the social movement likewise consists of many smaller groups linked through a sense of being part of a larger entity and by both official and unofficial "messengers" who represent to each group the supposed views of other such groups. Top movement leadership is concerned with controlling the decisions of these groups and coordinating them while still encouraging enough spontaneity so that members will work enthusiastically in the movement's behalf. Disputes among the groups or between leadership and the groups frequently plague movements. The process by which an effective movement-wide decision is reached warrants serious investigation.

(2) *Relations between collective behavior and institutional authority.*

A second research area concerns the relations between collective behavior and institutional order and authority. In societies with effective and accepted central authority, collective behavior with serious implications for change is not likely to occur unless the collectivities can command use of the institutionalized means for putting forward their charges and programs. The relation of mob action to sanction by constituted authority has been dramatized in the recent events of Little Rock, Arkansas, and earlier noted in connection with the 1943 Detroit race riot and many others. But the prevalent approach to social movements is still to regard them as spontaneous developments of protest reflecting mass feelings. An alternative hypothesis is the following. Endemic mass discontent and protest blossom into powerful movements when they become useful to groups who already hold legitimate power in society. The latter provide the emergent movements with the necessary access to legitimate means for promoting their cause. Thus the paradox of the sudden growth of the C.I.O. at the depths of the depression when the bargaining power of organized labor should have been least is understandable in light of its usefulness to the newly victorious Democratic party, seeking to consolidate its political control.

The recent rise and decline of McCarthyism affords an excellent opportunity to test such a hypothesis. Extended analysis from the point of view that changes in the American socioeconomic structure provoked a mass increase in susceptibility to McCarthyite appeals is already on hand.⁸ Remaining for examination is the hypothesis that variations in mass susceptibility were unimportant, but that important leaders in the Republican party saw in McCarthy a useful tool in discrediting the Democratic administration and consequently made available to him the means to attract and hold a following. McCarthy's decline would then reflect, not the lessening of grass-roots susceptibility, but denial of access to these same means when the party achieved power and found him a liability.

(3) *Relation of change in social values to collective behavior.* Among the most elusive yet crucial topics is the third problem, the processes and conditions of change in social values and their precise relationship to developments in collective behavior. Beneath what people conceptualize and openly acknowledge is a sense of value which makes them uncomfortable or gratified in the course of events, often without comprehending the reason. While certain gross convergences between mass values and the directions of collective behavior have long been hypothesized, more complex relationships to specific instances of such behavior remain for investigation. For example, the decline of a social system has often been accompanied by sporadic mob action in defense of the old way of life. This mob action may be viewed in a different light from that which has been customary. There is some evidence to suggest that during the last century the mass sense of value had changed to a point that the United States color caste was defended more out of desperation than out of deep conviction. The periodic lynchings may have served chiefly as desperate attempts to rediscover the archaic sense of value embedded in the system within the special situation of the lynching crowd and supporting diffuse crowd.

(4) *Significance of countermovements.* Likewise, the internal stresses and weaknesses of many countermovements merit study oriented about the hypothesis that the members and leaders must largely operate with an ideology which does not find support in their own strong sense of value. Their fear of the kind of people whom they identify with the opposed movement and their unwillingness to let change take place until they are prepared to direct it lend the vitality of desperation to their

⁸ Daniel Bell, ed., *The New American Right* (New York: Criterion Books, 1955).

actions. Such an interpretation renders comprehensible such extreme swings as from the 1936 Landon conservatism to the 1940 Willkie Liberalism within the Republican party. It also affords an explanation for those surprising instances in which an apparently powerful countermovement drops to insignificance after one impressive defeat.

(5) *Role of symbols in collective behavior.* A final area worthy of focused study is the formation, transformation, and function of symbols in collective behavior. While a number of generalizations are available concerning the characteristics of successful symbols in collective behavior, there is some historical reporting on the emergence of symbols in crisis behavior, and the function of in-group symbols in unifying groups has been explored, the processes of acceptance and rejection of symbols have not been examined in detail. A careful comparative study of the emergence and transformations of specific symbols in the crowd, fashion and fad, and social movements would be of great value.

AREAS FOR RESEARCH IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

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Continuous interplay between research and theory is essential to the scientific method. Attempts to push one ahead of the other are likely to be relatively unrewarding: atheoretical research is disjointed and inadequately cumulative; theory that is not continually tested and revised by research is speculative and of unknown validity.

Through the years, the sociology of religion has been more extensively developed in its theoretical than in its research aspects. In the last ten or fifteen years, however, this situation has begun to change, with reports of field research appearing in increasing numbers. The task ahead is to accelerate this trend without a slackening of theoretical work. In fact, the continuing development of a scientific theory of religion now becomes both more possible and more essential in order to make maximum use of the richer materials.

The areas for research listed below are neither mutually exclusive nor exhaustive. They are areas in which vital beginnings have been made or which seem to me to be of importance in the development of the sociology of religion. I believe that testable hypotheses can be worked out in each of these areas, although adequate work in some of them is dependent upon the accumulation of data over many years. At the present time, comparisons through time are unreliable, because information for earlier periods is sketchy and often noncomparable.

(1) *Religious variations.* The broadest area for research is the comparative study of religious variation in different types of societies. How do religious beliefs and practices vary with the nature of the economy, with the rapidity of social change, with the level of literacy, with the methods of socialization, with the types of stratification systems, and the like? What happens to a religion when a group of its adherents migrate to another society of substantially different type from their homeland? Comparisons may be between different societies or they may refer to one society at different times. Although Weber's classic studies of the interconnections of religion and economic activity took the lead

in using the comparative approach, only recently has it been used with any regularity.¹

(2) *Religion and social structure.* Cross-cultural comparative studies are closely related to the analysis of relationships between religion and other aspects of a social structure. I can only suggest the vast range of research problems in this area by noting some of the questions that may be raised. With respect to religion and the family: How do different family patterns interact with religion? Does decline in the size and solidarity of the family affect religious training, the continuity of tradition, the religious tendencies of the persons involved? How do the different roles of men and of women affect their religious inclinations? How are religious beliefs and practices related to the sexual ethics of various societies? What are the factors that block or permit interfaith intermarriage, and with what results? Under what conditions will family cults and ancestor worship become a part of a religious system?

(3) *Religion and education.* There are equally important questions involved in the study of the connection between religion and education and the related problem of religion and science. How do religions vary in their congeniality for the growth of knowledge and science? What are the effects on the pursuit of knowledge when education is under religious control or is distinctively secular? More specifically, how does education in various parochial schools in the United States affect the aspirations, the values, and other tendencies of the individuals involved when compared with the influence of secular public schools? There are obvious difficulties in setting up a study of this question in such a way that "other things are equal," but close approximations of good design are possible.

(4) *Religion and citizenship.* In many societies, to share a political allegiance is to share a religious perspective; the boundaries of the political and religious communities are coterminous. This is clearly not the case in most modern societies. A number of the most important research problems for the sociology of religion emerge from the separation of religion and citizenship. Under what conditions does religion support and when does it restrict nationalistic sentiments? How are various messianic movements related to the emerging nationalism of colonial peoples? Are religious movements and political movements functional al-

¹ See, for example, S. F. Nadel, "Two Nuba Religions: An Essay in Comparison," *American Anthropologist*, 57: 661-79; Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," *American Anthropologist*, 58: 264-81; and the test of Weber's thesis in Japan by Robert N. Bellah, *Tokugawa Religion* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957).

ternatives or are they likely to be found together? In a recent memorandum, Gerhard Lenski has suggested the desirability of research into the ways in which religious perspectives affect attitudes toward political values. "Thus, it may be that Catholics whose socio-economic position is upper-middle class may in many respects think and act like working class people because of their involvement in the Catholic sub-community which is predominantly working class."² It will be difficult, in research in this area, to equate all other variables (recency with which class standing was established, friends and relatives in other classes, occupational differences, etc.) in order to eliminate spurious correlations, but the problem is an important one.

(5) *Religious conflict.* With the appearance of societies containing adherents of several religions, the problem of religious conflict arises. Even earlier, of course, religious conflict, entangled in complex ways with economic and political conflict, had arisen between societies. One of the key questions in this area is to discover the degree to which religion is the substance of the dispute and the degree to which it is simply the symbol of other disputes. How religious were the religious wars of Christendom? Was the split of Pakistan and India based substantially on religious conflict? To what degree is a religious factor involved in Arab-Israeli tensions today? More manageable questions emerge from the study of religious conflict within a nation. Here the task is to discover the conditions under which antipathy, tolerance, active mediation, and amalgamation occur among religious groups. What factors lead, in the United States, to the National Conference of Christians and Jews and what factors promote the Ku Klux Klan? Several recent studies have extended our knowledge of religious conflict.³

(6) *Religion and economic interests.* The relationship between economic interests and religion has probably been studied more extensively than any other aspect of the sociology of religion. Does a religion, by the influence of its road to salvation, its interpretation of work, its particular combination of values, help to create the situation within which economic activities are pursued; or does it merely reflect economic forces? More accurately, under what conditions and to what degree does

² Gerhard Lenski, "A Proposal for the Study of Religion in the Metropolitan Community" (unpublished).

³ See John J. Kane, *Catholic-Protestant Conflicts in America* (New York: Regnery, 1955); Kenneth Underwood, *Protestant and Catholic* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1957); and Don J. Hager, Charles Y. Glock, and Isidor Chein, editors, "Religious Conflict in the United States," *The Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. XII, No. 3 (1956).

each of these relationships prevail? How is religion involved in the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth?

(7) *Religion and social stratification.* A closely related research area is the exploration of the relationship between religious differentiation and social stratification. There is a great deal of literature describing the differences in religious belief, practice, and group structure among the classes. In many instances, studies of this question relate religious variations to differences in the style of life among the several strata, for aspirations, values, aesthetic patterns, emotional needs, etc., all vary to some degree. The need in further research is to explore the extent to which a shared religious identity can reduce secular differences and the degree to which religious difference not only symbolizes but also reinforces differences in style of life. Do lower class members who participate in a "middle class denomination" acquire the values, aspirations, and tendencies of the middle class and increase the likelihood of their becoming middle class? Or, oppositely, do members of a minority group who take part in a separate religious system increase the strength of a differentiated subculture and thereby reinforce their status?

(8) *Religion and magic.* A series of questions arise from the study of the relationship of religion and magic. What kinds of religious patterns, cultural systems, and personality tendencies promote the close interpenetration of religion and magic; what conditions break the relationship? Within a society and a single religious tradition, does the extent of magic vary with residence, class, education; or does it merely appear under various labels in different settings?

(9) *Religion and small group research.* Sociologists are busily engaged in the study of groups of all kinds. Many of the concepts derived from small group research, reference group theory, the analysis of large-scale organizations have relevance for the sociology of religion. How does a congregational as contrasted with a hierarchical structure affect a religious organization? What does it mean "to belong" to a church—is it the sort of segmental contact that one makes with many associations or is it a close personal attachment? How does this vary among the adherents of various religions, among classes, among those with different personal needs?

(10) *Religious leaders.* There is a great need for sociologists of religion to study religious leaders in ways that go beyond the typological procedures of Weber and Wach.⁴ Who become religious professionals?

⁴ See Samuel Blizard, "The Roles of the Rural Parish Minister, The Protestant Seminaries, and the Sciences of Social Behavior," *Religious Education*, November-December 1955, pp. 1-10; Waldo W. Burchard, "Role Conflicts of Military Chaplains," *American Sociological Review*, XIX: 528-35.

What various roles do they occupy in different societies, classes, and religious systems? What role conflicts do they face? How are variations in training, income, and identification with others manifest in their activity? To what degree do they prevent or initiate changes in religious belief and practice as a result of the interactions within the colleague group? The elaboration of a religious system has some immanent quality. This can be studied most effectively perhaps by analysis of the groups, the agencies of communication, the cultural forces that operate within the circle of religious leaders.

(11) *Religion and social-psychological research.* Research that includes a social-psychological dimension is pertinent to the sociology of religion. There is need to extend the study of personality variables associated with cults and sects to analysis of membership in the larger denominations. To what degree do those with certain tendencies seek out membership in various religious groups and to what degree does membership help to shape interests, values, and inclinations? Might one find differences, Lenski inquires, among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews in achievement motivation or acceptance of a deferred gratification pattern, education, income, etc., being controlled?

(12) *Religion and social change.* In what various ways is religion involved in social change, both of major social patterns and of smaller community developments? Under what conditions do the religious patterns simply respond to change, when do they prevent change, when do they promote it? This question is implicit in most of the research areas that I have mentioned but can also be made the primary focus of attention. A careful study of the ways in which churches have dealt with the issue of desegregation would reveal the whole range of possible connections between religion and social change. It might lead to a better understanding of the factors involved in producing the several patterns in other situations as well.

Most of the research areas I have mentioned so far apply to a wide range of types of societies. Some problems in the sociology of religion are concerned more specifically with modern urban societies, and some with American society only. What are the religious effects of spatial and social mobility? Certainly the "other-directed" man or the "organization man" leads a different life, religiously, from his predecessors. Is the church one of the new roots of the residents of suburbia, as Whyte suggests? Does it reduce or only reflect anomie? We have long discussed the differences between the "religions of the disinherited" and the "theodicy of good fortune" of those on top. Perhaps now we need

an analysis of the religious lives of those who are moving up. From what do they want to be saved? What roads to salvation have meaning for them?

(13) *Resurgence of religious interest.* By the indexes of church membership, religious literature and movies, the piety of politicians, etc., we are certainly witnessing a "return to religion." Who is returning; who never left? What modifications of belief and practice accompany the revival? How is the return functionally related to life in modern society—its stresses, its promises, its mobility? The resurgence of religious interest is apparently being felt in the United States in each of the major religious groups—Protestant, Catholic, Jewish. Although lines of distinction based on national origin, region, and perhaps class are diminishing, religious distinctiveness seems scarcely less sharp than in the past. This has led some writers to postulate that we have not a single but a "triple melting-pot."⁵ Each of the major religious divisions, in this analysis, has a strong communal solidarity. If this is so, is it a temporary or a long-run phenomenon? Among whom is it especially apparent, among whom is it weak? Is this a product of the "lonely crowd," part of an effort to find for one's self "a brand name," as Herberg puts it? How is it related to the question of national unity, to nationalism, and the transfer of religious feeling to "the American way of life"? In broader terms, what conditions lead to conversion to a dominant religion or a convergence of religious traditions, what conditions lead to vigorous assertion of distinctive religious traditions?

(14) *Religion and mass media.* Religion is inevitably affected by the types of communication available in a society. In the United States today, religious groups make extensive use of all the mass media. How do the media affect the types of materials used, the audiences, belief, and action?⁶ Has the balance of religious influence been affected by the fact that some groups employ the mass media extensively, others scarcely at all? What transformations occur in a religion that is presented in written form, orally to small groups, to large audiences through TV?

The research areas that I have mentioned do not constitute a systematic research program, because the list of problems could be greatly extended, because many of the questions raised are tied inextricably to

⁵ Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, "Single or Triple Melting-Pot? Inter-marriage Trends in New Haven, 1870-1940," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIX: 331-39; Will Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1955); Marshall Sklare, *Conservative Judaism: An American Religious Movement* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955).

⁶ See Everett C. Parker, David W. Barry, and Dallas W. Smythe, *The Television-Radio Audience and Religion* (Boston: Harper & Brothers, 1955).

others not listed, and above all because the need within each area is for the formulation of specific hypotheses capable of definitive testing. The range of problems that I have sketched may, however, suggest the potentialities and the significance of sociological studies of religion. On the basis of the research that has appeared in the last several years and the growing interest in the field, we have reason to be optimistic about the development of the sociology of religion.

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